

Polarization grows in Kosovo; U.S. gov't pushes intervention

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

ATHENS, Greece — In a concession to a wave of popular mobilizations for self-determination of Albanians in Kosovo, Belgrade signed an agreement with leaders of the Democratic League of Kosovo on March 23 that would allow the return of Albanian teachers and students to state high schools and university system in Kosovo.

"If such an agreement were to be implemented, we would be able to reclaim our buildings, including the university library I have never seen," said Fitore Sheciri, 24, in a March 13 interview in Pristina, Kosovo's capital. Sheciri has been attending classes at the parallel University of Pristina, as have 23,000 other Albanian students. This illegal institution, along with high schools for 60,000 students, was set up by Albanians in homes and mosques, after Belgrade banned high school and college instruction in the Albanian language in 1991.

The Independent Students Union (UPS), one of the main organizations sponsoring mass protests in Kosovo demanding national rights for Albanians, had not issued a statement on the accord as of press time. "We are having a student assembly tomorrow where we will review the text of the accord and express our opinion," said Lulëzon. **Continued on Page 12**

Paperworkers call strike support rally in Canada

BY NED DMYTRYSHYN

ELK FALLS, British Columbia — "On April 4 unionists from across Vancouver Island will be coming to the main town center of Campbell River to rally in solidarity with our fight," said David Munk while walking the picket line at the Fletcher Challenge mill here. Munk is a member of the Communication Energy and Paperworkers (CEP) Local 630, which has 200 members on strike. Some 970 members of CEP Local 1123, which organizes non-paperworkers at the Elk Falls operation, are also walking the picket line.

The two locals 1123 and 630 are organizing the rally, which will take place from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. at the Tyee Plaza. Featured speakers will be Ken Georgetti, president of the B.C. Federation of Labor, and Brian Payne, president of Region 4 of the CEP. Some members of the CEP working in other mills across B.C. are planning to attend. Members of the United Steelworkers of America, Canadian Auto Workers, and other unionists and their families from across Vancouver Island are expected to show their support.

The strike by 2,400 paperworkers against Fletcher Challenge mills across the prov- **Continued on Page 11**

Caterpillar is forced to recall fired unionists

UAW members ratify contract in close vote

BY DANNY BOOHER
AND FRANK FORRESTAL

EAST PEORIA — By a narrow margin, United Auto Workers (UAW) members voted March 19-21 to ratify a six-year contract with Caterpillar, the world's largest maker of earth moving and construction equipment. The agreement was approved by

Caterpillar workers set example of struggle

— editorial, page 14

54 percent of the membership nationwide in a hotly contested vote. Unlike a proposal that was voted down a month earlier, the pact includes reinstating all 160 UAW members who had been fired by Caterpillar for union activity over the last six and a half years.

UAW members have gone through two long strikes, lasting a total of two years, and have been without a contract since 1991.

UAW Local 974 president Jim Clingan and Bargaining Committee chairman Jerry Baker announced at a press conference here that Local 974, the largest union local at Caterpillar, approved the contract by 55 percent. Local 2096 in Pontiac, Illinois, approved it by 55 percent. It passed with 75 percent of the vote in Aurora, Illinois, and by 54 percent in York, Pennsylvania. UAW Local 751 in Decatur, Illinois, voted the contract down by 71 percent. Union officials and a few rank-and-file workers ap-



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Caterpillar workers and supporters at 1995 strike support rally in Decatur, Illinois. Winning reinstatement for all 160 union activists "illegally terminated" by company during six-and-a-half-year struggle was a key issue of union solidarity and dignity.

plauded when the ratification totals were announced.

Decatur was the only local to hold a full membership meeting. In the other locals union members cast their votes during specified times, with union officials closely monitoring the balloting.

The contract was approved just one month after UAW members soundly rejected Caterpillar's first offer. UAW officials campaigned for passage of the February 22 deal, with the active involvement of international representatives from Detroit. At **Continued on Page 11**

Irish fighters protest rightist marches, prepare for next round of talks

BY PETE CLIFFORD

LONDON — More than 4,000 people marched through the Garvaghy Road area of Portadown, Northern Ireland, March 22 in a protest against the forthcoming marches by the Orange Order and other rightist groups, which are routed through this Irish nationalist area.

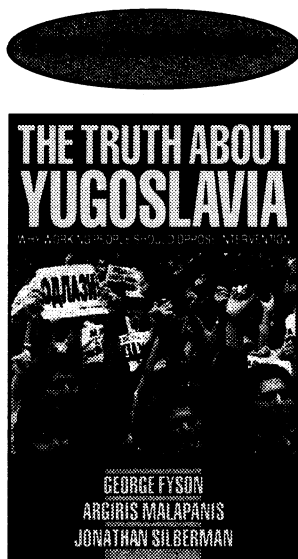
The pro-British parades are aimed at intimidating supporters of Irish self-determination and reinforcing the anti-Catholic discrimination that is a pillar of London's rule in Northern Ireland.

For the last few years there have been major clashes in July as the British Army and police have fired plastic bullets and imposed curfews to facilitate the parades.

Indicating the connection between this issue and the talks on the future of Ireland, Sinn Fein leader Francie Molloy told the demonstrators, "If they trample feet down this road again, they are sending a signal to nationalists that nothing has changed."

The following day Sinn Fein, the party leading the nationalist struggle for Irish freedom and unification, rejoined the negotiations. They had been excluded on February 16 amid false claims that the Irish Republican Army had broken its cease-fire, a precondition set by the British and Irish governments for Sinn Fein's participation in the talks.

Government officials are making **Continued on Page 4**



The Truth about Yugoslavia

Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention

George Fyson, Argiris Malapanis, and Jonathan Silberman

Examines the roots of the carnage in the Yugoslav workers state, where the U.S. and European powers are intervening militarily to advance their competing interests. Explains how groups of would-be capitalists — fragments of the former Stalinist regime — are fighting a war for territory and resources. **\$8.95**

IN ENGLISH AND GREEK

New International no. 10

- Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War by Jack Barnes
- What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold
- Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution by Mary-Alice Waters
- The Curve of Capitalist Development by Leon Trotsky

\$14.00

IN ENGLISH, FRENCH, SPANISH, AND SWEDISH

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 for shipping and handling.

DPRK gov't demands: 'U.S. troops out of Korea'

A March 20 meeting on formally ending the Korean war was canceled between the governments from Pyongyang, Seoul, Beijing, and Washington, with a new session scheduled the next day. "The difficulties center around a North Korean demand for an effective commitment from the United States to pull out its 37,000 troops backing up [the regime in] South Korea," the Associated Press reported.

A week earlier, the foreign ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a statement protesting Washington's deployment of additional combat planes in south Korea as an attempt to "turn the Korean peninsula into a military strategic vantage for aggression on Asia and world domination by stifling the DPRK by military force. The U.S. call for 'security' and 'peace' on the Korean peninsula is nothing but a hypocrisy and an artifice to camouflage its criminal moves and plans."

Japan activists: 'no nuke dumps'

Local farmers and antinuclear activists blocked the port of Mutsu-Ogawara, in Rokkasho, Japan, March 10 in opposition to Tokyo's plans to allow a British ship to dump 30 tons of nuclear waste there. The governor, Morio Kimura, also opposed the nuclear waste site. Kimura charged the Japanese government with failure to develop a plan for storage of the toxic material. The government says a plan won't be in effect until 2020. "If we don't say no, they will continue to make more and more waste," explained Yumiko Oshita, a longtime anti-nuke activist there.

Tel Aviv puts conditions on withdrawal from Lebanon

Israeli government officials have recently floated the suggestion they may withdraw troops from Lebanon, but not immediately and only on condition that the Lebanese government bust up and disarm guerrillas there. UN secretary general Kofi Annan said March 20 he supported the troop pullout, but he rejected demands by the Lebanese and Syrian governments that a withdrawal be unconditional. UN Resolution 425 —



About 4,000 landless peasants in Brazil took over government buildings in mid-March

adopted in 1978 and ignored by Tel Aviv — urges Israel "immediately to cease its military action against" Lebanon and "withdraw its forces." Israeli forces have violated Lebanese sovereignty for more than 25 years. They invaded that country in 1972, seeking to deal a blow to Palestinian guerrillas, in 1978, and again in 1982, leaving troops occupying a nine-mile-wide "security zone."

Oil barons vie for African fields

Imperialist oil barons are scrambling to exploit offshore oil fields in the Gulf of Guinea and the West Coast of Africa. Major players include U.S. companies Mobil Oil and Chevron, the French-based Elf Aquitaine, and the British-Dutch company Royal Dutch/Shell, all of whom are fiercely competing for rights to the resources in the region. The countries of Nigeria, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, the Congo Republic, and Angola hold approximately 24.4 billion barrels of oil reserves and 116.4 trillions of cubic feet of gas reserves. Over the next 20 years, industry experts say, U.S. capitalists will invest between \$40-\$60 billion in the Gulf of Guinea alone.

The oil corporations' interests were high-

lighted when U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright traveled to Angola in December. About 40 percent of Nigeria's oil goes to the United States, and the U.S. oil company Chevron is the leading producer of oil in Angola, but is facing stiff competition from Elf. Meanwhile, U.S. president William Clinton will begin a six-nation tour of Africa in late March, promoting U.S. imperialists' interests in trade and investment.

IMF withholds loan to Ukraine

The International Monetary Fund is withholding the latest payment of a \$585 million loan to Ukraine, saying it will resume discussions on the credits sometime in April after the parliamentary elections. Ukraine would then receive the loan payment only if it met IMF dictates, which represents the interests of the biggest imperialist banking trusts. One problem the IMF officials cited was that the Ukrainian government has not done enough to slash government expenditures, such as paying mounting back wage and pensions owed to workers.

Italians demand: 'work, work!'

Tens of thousands of unionists and others took to the streets of Naples, Italy, March 20 to protest high unemployment chanting, "Work, work, work!" March organizers put the number of participants at 80,000, while cops estimate 50,000. The march was organized by the three main trade union organizations in Naples. Joblessness in Italy is 12 percent nationwide and as high as 22 percent in the country's southern region. Rome has carried out austerity moves against working people over the last two years in the name of meeting the criteria needed to gain acceptance into the European Monetary Union.

Brazil: 4,000 peasants occupy gov't offices demanding land

Thousands of landless peasants took over

government offices in 16 cities across Brazil in mid-March. The actions were led by the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST), which has occupied idle farms for years. The MST has now begun occupations of buildings in urban areas, pressuring the government for land reform. "Congress keeps stalling. They say they'll make the changes we asked for, but they don't," explained Eduardo Luiz Emmerck. "Invasions are the only weapon we have." Emmerck was one of 1,000 peasants who spent the night in the Treasury Department in São Paulo. As more than 4,000 peasants began leaving the government buildings, they threatened to block highways and invade national banks if the government did not speed up the distribution of some 1.1 billion acres of farmland among the 4 million landless peasants.

University workers in Dominican Republic win student backing

Striking workers at the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic were joined by students March 18. The strikers are demanding a 20 percent wage increase and the reinstatement of a dozen fired workers. Cop agents, sent in to break up the action, shot three youths and detained several others. Students walked out when the Dominican student federation president was detained for distributing literature that called for a student strike.

Paraguayan peasants protest

Some 5,000 peasants in Paraguay marched on the capital March 18 to protest the government's failure to keep promises it made a year ago to provide land, agricultural training, and other agrarian reforms. About 200 riot cops were deployed during the demonstration. In response to peasants protests last year, the government offered \$15,000 to buy necessities, which did little to solve the economic hardships they face. Rural workers make up 60 percent of Paraguay's 5 million people.

NY cops raid 'wrong' apartment

Claiming to be seeking drug dealers, New York city cops burst into a Bronx apartment with a battering ram on March 18. "I was scared, scared they were going to shoot us," said six-year-old Jaquan Fulton, who was there with his mother and grandmother. Two days later, police acknowledged they had smashed up the "wrong" apartment, entering without a search warrant. In the last year, at least 11 raids have been made in New York City that involved cops entering a home not listed on the warrant. This does not include raids carried out without a warrant, such as the one at the Fultons' home. A lawyer for the Fulton family said they were preparing a \$30 million lawsuit against the city over the police break-in. Another "mistaken" police raid took place in February in which cops shot off 26 rounds and ransacked Ellis Elliot's apartment in the Bronx.

—MEGAN ARNEY
AND BRIAN TAYLOR

THE MILITANT

Say 'Yes' to Quebec independence

The struggle of 6 million Quebecois against national oppression is one of the biggest obstacles to Canadian imperialism. The 'Militant' covers this fight and other struggles by working people in Canada against the assaults by the wealthy rulers.
Don't miss a single issue!



SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW READERS

☐ \$10 for 12 issues

RENEWAL

☐ \$15 for 12 weeks

☐ \$27 for 6 months

☐ \$45 for 1 year

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION _____

PHONE _____

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014.

12 weeks of the Militant outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A15 • Britain, £7 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$15 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £8 • Belgium, 375 BF • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr1,500 • New Zealand, NZ\$15 • Sweden, Kr75 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

The Militant

Vol. 62/No. 13

Closing news date: March 26, 1998

Editor: NAOMI CRAINE

Business Manager: MAURICE WILLIAMS

Editorial Staff: Megan Arney, Joshua Carroll, Hilda Cuzco, Martin Koppel, Argiris Malapanis, Brian Taylor, and Maurice Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311,2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant

Internet: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

The Militant can be accessed on the internet at: gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org/11/pubs/militant

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Subscriptions: **United States:** for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address.

Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year sub-

scription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. **Asia:** send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Canada: Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Militant, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4.

Britain, Ireland: £36 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. **Continental Europe, Africa, Middle East:** £40 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. **France:** Send FF300 for one-year subscription to Militant, MBE 201, 208, rue de la Convention, 75015 Paris; chèque postale: 40 134 34 U. **Belgium:** BF 1,900 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of 1Mei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. **Iceland:** Send 5,400 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. **Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark:** 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. **New Zealand:** Send New Zealand \$75 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. **Australia:** Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 1240, Australia. **Pacific Islands:** Send New Zealand \$75 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Regional elections in France register political polarization

BY RAFIK BENALI
AND DEREK JEFFERS

PARIS — The elections for 22 regional councils and council presidents that took place across France in mid-March marked an increasing political polarization and a greater fracturing of the conservative coalition of President Jacques Chirac's Rally for the Republic (RPR) and the Union for French Democracy (UDF).

In five regions, politicians from the RPR and UDF made last-minute alliances with the ultraright National Front (FN) to elect UDF regional council presidents March 20, including in the second-largest region in France, Rhône-Alpes. The UDF immediately suspended the five candidates. Both the UDF and RPR national leaderships had officially opposed any alliance with the National Front. The Socialist Party (SP), Communist Party (CP), Greens, and other forces began planning for a demonstration March 28 in Paris "against the alliance of the right with the FN." Anti-National Front demonstrations were organized March 23 before three regional councils and in the home town of Charles Millon, regional president of Rhône-Alpes.

Council elections reflect polarization

Each slate receiving at least 5 percent of the vote in the March 15 elections received proportional representation in the regional councils. The councils then elect their presidents.

The National Front, headed by Jean-Marie Le Pen, received 15.2 percent of the vote. This is similar to the results of the 1997 national legislative elections and 1995 presidential vote, and an increase over the 13.9 percent the FN obtained in the previous regional elections in 1992. In several regions, particularly urban areas hard hit by unemployment and industrial layoffs, the FN vote rose more rapidly, increasing by more than 3 points to 26.3 percent in the region around Marseilles, for example, where the FN now holds more seats than any party. The overall number of FN regional counselors went from 239 to 275.

For the first time parties seen as to the left of the SP and CP, Workers Struggle (LO) and the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), elected counselors with 23 altogether. These parties received 4.3 percent of the vote nationally. LO national spokesperson Arlette Laguillier was elected in the working-class suburbs of Paris, with 6.8 percent of the vote in the Seine Saint Denis.

Abstentions reached a record level of 42 percent, as compared to 31 percent in the 1992 regional elections.

The SP, CP and Greens, who make up the legislative majority of SP prime minister Lionel Jospin since June 1997, formed joint slates and received 36.5 percent of the vote, almost 6 points less than in the 1997 legislative contests and barely ahead of the RPR and UDF, which took 35.8 percent. The bloc of government parties, called the "Plural Left," elected a larger number of regional

counselors than the UDF-RPR in 12 regions, which they had expected to govern. Since the 1992 regional elections, the Plural Left has held only 2 of the 22 regional presidents. After regional council meetings on March 20 and March 23, 13 regions had elected UDF or RPR presidents and only five SP presidents. Three others had to vote again, after UDF or RPR representatives elected with the votes of the FN resigned, following the policy of their national leaderships. The Corsican council was to meet later.

French capitalism in trouble

The election results are an expression of the crisis facing capitalists in France, as they confront increased resistance to their austerity measures at home and savage competition from rival imperialist powers abroad.

The wave of public workers strikes and mass demonstrations against the attacks on social benefits by then Prime Minister Alain Juppé in November and December 1995 marked a noticeable upturn in working-class struggles in France. It came after a successful campaign led by youth against a sub-minimum wage in 1994, and was followed by battles of undocumented immigrants for legal status. In 1996 and 1997, French truckers struck and blocked roads for better working conditions, a shorter workweek, and an increase in wages. More recently, campaigns organized among France's 3 million unemployed (12.1 percent of the workforce) have taken over government offices demanding jobs, decent levels of unemployment benefits, and benefits for youth under 25.

Demonstrations against the FN have also spread. Thirty thousand took part in a recent action in Toulouse on March 5.

Several workers at the GEC-Alsthom transformer plant in the Paris suburb of Saint Ouen expressed concern about the growth of the National Front in interviews with the *Militant*. The vote for the FN "is dangerous," said Pablo Hormigos, 38 years old. "The FN was a small party 20 years ago, getting only 0.5 percent. They grew after the left came to power in 1981 with [SP president François] Mitterrand. All the political parties are responsible for the growth of the National Front. What do workers want — to have a job and to live decently. The left made us believe that they were going to do that, but in fact they are incapable of doing that."

Robert Helias, a 39-year-old worker at the transformer plant commented, "What scares me is that the National Front is growing slowly but surely, because we had the right and then the left and it was the same thing."

The French rulers are also under growing pressure to defend their interests in areas of Africa, the Middle East, and the Pacific, which have been their preserves and off grounds to other imperialist powers, notably Washington. The African tour of U.S. president William Clinton beginning March 23 will take him to Senegal and Rwanda, both economically dominated by Paris.



French rulers have been unable to deal the kind of blows to labor that they need to shore up profit system. Above, unemployed workers march in Paris in January demanding jobs and an increase in unemployment benefits. Economic crisis has increased political polarization, with the ultrarightist National Front, headed by Jean-Marie Le Pen (right), posting gains.



Keeping some room open to maneuver in the Mideast was likewise behind the French government's efforts in February to present itself as the champion of diplomatic means to force Baghdad to allow UN "weapons inspectors" free reign in Iraq. Paris presented this policy as a progressive stand against U.S. dominance and in the interests of "Europe." A major editorial in the French daily *Le Monde* characterized Washington's moves to expand NATO as reflecting "the failure of European policy dominated by a Franco-German axis in favor of a NATO under American/British control," with Poland as a favored ally in the East.

The conclusion of *Le Monde* that "Europe" does not exist as a political entity and that France must look out for itself was closely echoed in *National Hebdo*, a pro-National Front weekly.

Chirac's and Jospin's common stance on Iraq, presenting French policy as independent of Washington while supporting moves to prepare war, was not seriously challenged by any party standing in the recent elections. None of them, including LO and the LCR, denounced the imperialist attacks on Iraqi sovereignty during their campaign. The left parties had previously prepared to call a demonstration in front of the U.S. embassy in case the inspections deal, brokered by UN secretary general Kofi Annan and backed by the French government, failed. The demands of the protest were to be against the U.S. intervention (their emphasis) and the economic embargo; for democracy in Iraq; and for the dismantling of weapons of "mass destruction" in all the countries of the region. The demonstration was never held.

Some bosses begin to look to the FN

Faced with the growing interimperialist competition and their difficulties in dealing a blow to workers in France, some capitalists and their editorial and political representatives had shown signs that they were no longer hostile to an alliance between the RPR-UDF and the National Front before the March 20 and 23 election of regional presidents. According to *Le Monde*, at a March 3 meeting of the French Association of Private Enterprise (AFEP) its 75 year-old president, Ambroise Roux, proposed accords between the traditional conservative parties and the FN. Roux's remarks shocked some of the big capitalists present, according to *Le Monde*.

Jean-François Mancel, general secretary of the RPR from 1995-97, stated two days after the March 15 regional elections that the FN should "become part of the right of tomorrow.... I was one of the most pugnacious against the National Front, but when this strategy of war against the FN meets in total failure, you'd have to be crazy to continue it." He was expelled from the RPR the next day by the party's president, Philippe Séguin.

The morning after the election of the five regional presidents with the help of the FN, an editorial in the *Figaro*, the most prestigious openly right-wing French daily, said that all the fuss was excessive. "One still cannot put up with Jean-Marie Le Pen, but his voters are respectable French," the editors commented.

Alain Madelin, president of Liberal De-

mocracy, a political formation belonging to the UDF, congratulated the regional presidents elected with the aid of the FN. He was, however, the only national leader of the grouping to do so. In a nationally televised speech on March 23, French president Jacques Chirac said he "disapproved" the regional alliances with the FN, declaring that "road can be dangerous."

Fascists maneuver the UDF and RPR

Taking advantage of the fact that the SP-CP-Greens slate held a clear majority in just one region, and only a plurality in 11 others, Le Pen proposed a "minimum program" to the RPR and UDF the day after the regional elections. In exchange for the votes of FN regional counselors for the election of regional presidents, Le Pen proposed an agreement around six points, centered on the lowering of taxes, priority for "public safety," and the "defense of the French and regional cultural identity."

In the Rhône-Alpes region around Lyon, France's second largest city, Charles Millon, a UDF leader and defense minister in the Juppé government until 1997, accepted this "minimum program." He included the six points in his March 20 written declaration of candidacy to be reelected regional president. Earlier in the week he had met with Bruno Gollnisch, the regional FN boss. In the first ballot by the regional council, Gollnisch from the National Front and another candidate put forward by the Plural Left ran against Millon, and no one obtained a majority. Before the second ballot, Gollnisch asked Millon if he really intended to apply the FN's six points. "Completely," responded the outgoing regional president, and the FN counselors promptly threw him their votes. Millon denied having made any alliance with the ultrarightist party. The process was similar elsewhere.

Regional councils were also elected March 15 in the areas of Latin America and the Caribbean incorporated into the French state. They showed an increase in support for pro-independence parties.

In Martinique the candidate of the Martinique Independence Movement (MIM) was elected regional president. The MIM received 24.5 percent of the popular vote. When Le Pen briefly landed on the Caribbean island last December, he was immediately greeted by protests. The FN did not present any candidate in Martinique, nor in Guadeloupe or Guiana, where independence parties also made gains.

In the second round of elections for half of the members of departmental councils in France held March 22, the SP and CP increased by 10 the number of departments where they hold majorities. They now hold majorities in 30 of France's 95 departments.

Rafik Benali is a member of the Young Socialists. Derek Jeffers is a member of the General Confederation of Workers (CGT) at GEC-Alsthom in Saint Ouen. Marcella FitzGerald contributed to this article.

From Pathfinder

An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis

A PROGRAM FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLE TODAY

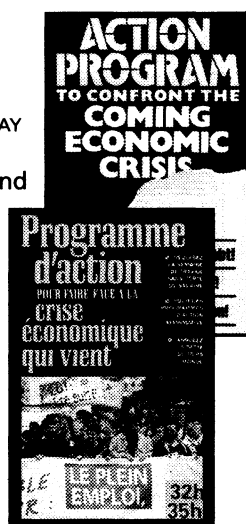
Edited by Doug Jenness

How a program to fight for jobs and affirmative action, and to combat imperialism's pillage of the Third World, is crucial to uniting working people internationally.

Available in English, French, Spanish, Icelandic, and Swedish \$3.00

Leon Trotsky on France

An assessment of the social and economic crisis that shook France in the mid-1930s in the aftermath of Hitler's rise to power in Germany, and a program to unite the working class and exploited peasantry to confront it. \$21.95



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12 or write
Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150.
When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Irish nationalists press fight in talks

Continued from front page

contradictory statements about whether an agreement will be reached in the negotiations. After meeting with Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams, British prime minister Anthony Blair said they were "agonizingly close." But just three days later, Irish Taoiseach (prime minister) Bertie Ahern told the *Irish Times*, "Can we reach an agreement? It is not possible to be certain."

In one of many commentaries in the big-business press, *Financial Times* columnist John Murray Brown wrote March 6 that when the two governments met to "fine tune" a settlement, "differences emerged over the mechanics."

Adams responded to this speculation in a feature article in the paper *Ireland on Sunday*. Titled "A bridge to the future," his article stated, "The real point is not whether there will be an agreement by May. It is about what kind of agreement is required to bring about a durable and lasting peace and whether this is the type of agreement the two governments are trying to put in place." Adams charged that while the Blair government "has brought a new approach in style," the "substance of its position in relation to an agreement remains the same as the last government."

Speaking in Belfast shortly after his election last year, Blair declared, "I believe in the United Kingdom. I value the union" between Britain and Northern Ireland. Within this framework, the British and Irish governments proposed a three-strand outline for a settlement on January 12. Known as the "Provisional Heads of Agreement" document, the proposed agreement included an elected assembly in Northern Ireland, an all-Ireland body to promote cooperation between the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland, and a "Council of the British Isles" to review the relationship between Britain

and Ireland. Both governments said they hoped to conclude agreement on these proposals by May, and then hold referendums in the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland.

As the days went by it became clear that the linchpin of these proposals was the assembly for Northern Ireland. Blasting this as an "internal settlement," Sinn Fein rejected the proposals on January 19. From the British-imposed partition of Ireland in 1921 until assuming direct rule in 1972, London ruled Northern Ireland through the Unionist Party, which controlled such an assembly based in Stormont Castle, Belfast. Adams made clear in his article that "an internal Six-County settlement is not a solution and that the real question is how do we end British jurisdiction in Ireland."

Adams explained there had been an "erosion of confidence" in the talks among nationalists, not just because of the proposals for an internal settlement but because London continues to maintain the same methods of rule today in Northern Ireland. Speaking to a packed meeting of Irish workers and others in Queens, New York, March 13, Adams said he had told Blair, "If you value the Union, then you value unionism and all its sectarianism."

Illustrating Adams's point, London has sought to defend this year's Orange marches going through nationalist areas. The government has appointed an entirely pro-British body as a "Parades Commission" to supposedly look into the re-routing of these marches. Notable among the appointees is Glen Barr, a former leader of a pro-British death squad, the Ulster Defence Association. The only two Catholics on the body have previously worked for the police.

Nationalists' concern has also been sharpened by revelations about March 3 murder of two men by the pro-British Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF). Blair reacted with crocodile tears to the killings in a Catholic-owned bar in Poyntzpass, Northern Ireland, declaring that the friendship of the two murdered men, one Catholic and the other Protestant, should "stand as a symbol of the peace process and why it must succeed." A few days later David Keys, one of four LVF supporters arrested for the murder, was himself killed in his prison cell, most likely by fellow LVF inmates. Sinn Fein charged that he had been a police informer.

Calling on the Royal Ulster Con-



Youth fight British Army while protesting rightist marches in Portadown in July 1997

stabulary (RUC) to explain the truth, Sinn Fein leader Alex Maskey demanded to know whether Keys "was still an agent at the time of the Poyntzpass killings, and what prior knowledge did the RUC have of the Poyntzpass and other killings." He added, "The murky underworld of those in the RUC responsible for running informants, the levels of collusion between the loyalist death squads, the RIR [Royal Irish Regiment, a locally recruited British Army unit], and the RUC all suggest that elements within the RUC had to have prior knowledge. This view is further substantiated by the fact that all those arrested for the Poyntzpass killings are ex-British soldiers."

Despite there being no change to the substance of London's rule, the British rulers are acting from a position of weakness. They were unable to extend Sinn Fein's exclusion from the negotiations beyond March 23, nor prevent Sinn Fein leaders from carrying out a major speaking tour of the United States and a meeting with U.S. president William Clinton. In response to the international hearing nationalist fighters are gaining, London has also had to end attempts to extradite Róisín McAliskey to Germany to face trumped-up charges, as well as concede a new public inquiry into the British Army murder of 14 Irish civil rights demonstrators in Derry, Northern Ireland, on Bloody Sunday, Jan. 31, 1972.

These moves have strained the bipartisan stance on Ireland in London. Conservative Party spokespersons condemned the McAliskey decision and protested the announcement that Adams was invited for the first time to a reception at the British Embassy in Washington during the March 17 St. Patrick's Day festivities.

While London has been forced to backtrack, Adams said in his article "A

bridge to the future" that Sinn Fein's objective of a united Ireland is "unlikely to be achieved" by May. Nevertheless, he said, "There should be agreement on the peace objective of making the island a better place for all the people who live here." After May, "if the RUC or the British Army are still patrolling the streets, or if triumphalist marches go where they are not wanted, or the equality agenda is still only a 'wish list,' then there has been no real agreement." The Sinn Fein leader put forward what he described as "transitional arrangements" in four areas that are required by nationalists. They include an all-Ireland body with executive powers with immunity from the veto of any proposed six-county institution; a change in British jurisdiction with no dilution to the claims of Ireland as a nation, along with the extension of representation in the Irish parliament to citizens in the North; a shift from "equity" of treatment to equality for Catholics; the end of repressive legislation, the release of political prisoners, disbandment of the RUC, and the removal of British troops from Ireland. Adams described these as the "minimal requirements if a level playing pitch is to be established."

Meanwhile Irish Taoiseach Ahern is facing a growing debate about moves to dilute the Irish Republic's constitution. Its Articles 2 and 3 lay claim to the whole of Ireland. Ahern has offered to change these as part of a settlement with London. The *Irish News* reported March 23 that Ahern is being forced to tour the branches of his own party, Fianna Fail, as opposition mounts to this scheme.

Speaking at the meeting in Queens, Adams explained to applause that he had told Blair that if "we cannot have a united Ireland by May, then we cannot have a United Kingdom either." Adams told the crowd, "The Brits will move slowly, the unionists will try to prevent the advancement of the process, but there remains one, simple key to our efforts — we are right."

Militant Fund Drive March 14 - May 10

CITY/COUNTRY	GOAL	PAID	%
Canada			
Vancouver	1,000		
Toronto	2,414		
Montreal	1,517		
Canada total	4,931		
Canada goal	5,000		
New Zealand			
Auckland	930		
Christchurch	700		
New Zealand total	1,630		
Sweden	700		
United Kingdom			
London			
Manchester			
UK total	1,000		
United States			
Des Moines	2,500	368	15%
Pittsburgh	5,000	250	5%
Detroit	3,500	140	4%
New York	14,000	530	4%
Newark	8,500	200	2%
Atlanta	3,200		
Birmingham	2,500		
Boston	6,000		
Chicago	9,500		
Cleveland	3,000		
Houston	6,000		
Los Angeles	9,000		
Miami	2,500		
Philadelphia	4,000		
San Francisco	10,000		
Seattle	7,000		
Twin Cities	7,000		
Washington, D.C.	3,000		
U.S. total	106,200	1,488	1%
INT'L TOTAL:	114,530	1,488	1%
Should be:	110,000	13,750	13%

'Militant' supporters build fund-raising meetings

BY LISA ROTTACH

NEWARK, New Jersey — *Militant* supporters in Des Moines have started collecting contributions to the Militant Fund from fellow workers in the city and surrounding region who want to help finance the ongoing publication of the socialist paper. "We've gotten off to a good start," reports Tom Alter, a socialist meatpacker there.

At the Bridgestone/Firestone plant gate, according to Alter, some workers pooled some cash for a modest donation to the fund. This is the fruit of weekly plant gate sales by *Militant* supporters, who report consistently good sales of the paper at this factory. The rubber workers there have gone through some union skirmishes and battles, including a hard-fought strike in 1994-95. Socialist unionists who work inside the plant are planning to secure further contributions from co-workers.

"We also sent a team to Omaha and Lincoln, Nebraska, to sell *Militant* subscriptions and build the socialist conference in Chicago" on April 4, Alter added. They came back with some contributions to the Militant Fund too, including from a retired railworker who is a long-

time *Militant* reader.

Partisans of the *Militant* in Miami are busy building a weekend of events featuring veteran socialist Tom Leonard, who will speak on Saturday, April 4, on the fight against imperialist war from World War II to today. Leonard will speak on his experiences as a unionist in the maritime industry after World War II in drawing lessons for the new generations of fighters against capitalism. On Sunday he will give a class on the Russian and Cuban revolutions. "We raised our goal from \$2,300 to \$2,500 because of the enthusiastic response so far" to the fund campaign and the upcoming political weekend," reported Rachele Fruit.

Supporters in Pittsburgh are also planning a fund-raising event April 4. Joshua Carroll, a leader of the Young Socialists, will be the featured speaker. He was part of a recent *Militant* reporting trip to Cuba that covered the Havana Book Fair, as well as the efforts by Cuban farm cooperative workers to produce more food. Harry, a young worker from Indonesia, will speak as well. He recently subscribed to the paper, and contributed to the fund after reading an appeal in the *Militant*.

These examples underscore the fact that organizing fund-raising events as early as possible is fundamental to a successful fund drive. To reach the goal of \$110,000 in eight weeks, an average of almost \$14,000 must be raised internationally each week.

Symposium on 100 Years of United States Colonialism in Puerto Rico

Keynote address 9 a.m.
**The Significance
of 1898**
Rafael Cancel Miranda

April 4
DePaul University
Cortelyou Commons
2324 N. Fremont
Chicago

**Also workshops on instruments
of colonialization and political repression. Special performances by
musician Roy Brown.**

For more information call:
(773) 325-7317.

Supporters of socialist press organize sales at factory gates, in Puerto Rico

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

As we enter the second week of the campaign to win new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, socialist workers in Iowa have organized a regional sales team to the Quad Cities region in Iowa and Illinois, to reach out to workers at two Case Corp. plants who recently voted to authorize strike action.

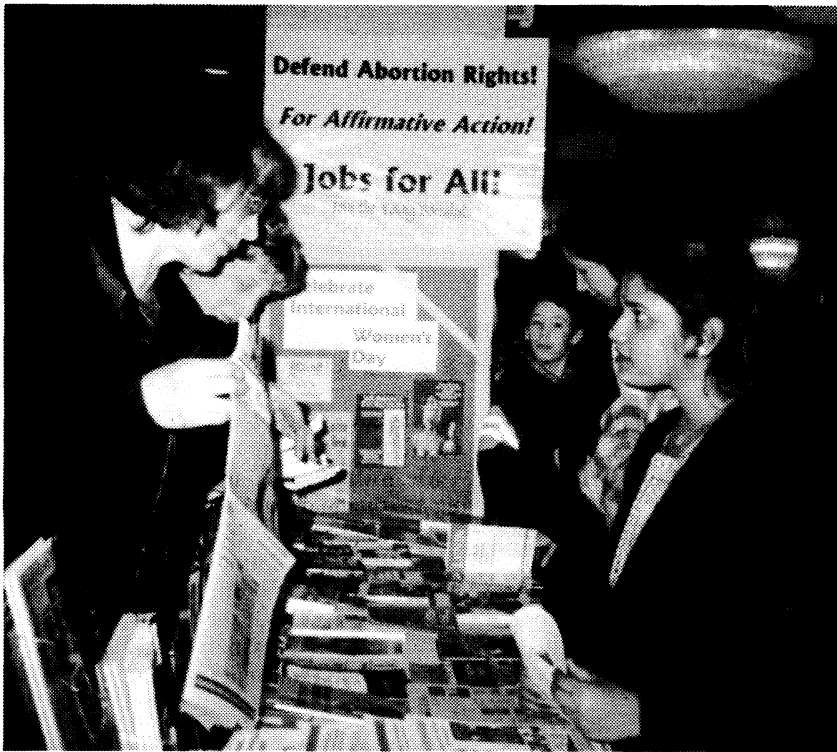
"On March 25 we sold 22 papers and two *Militant* subscriptions to workers at the Case plant in Burlington, Iowa," said Ray Parsons, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 310 in Des Moines, Iowa. Jim Meyer, a member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 807 in Burlington said the bosses, "know what they need to do to avoid a strike but they just won't do it."

A few days earlier the team sold 21 copies of the *Militant* during a plant gate sale to workers at the Case plant in East Moline, Illinois. "The team arrived in East Moline just as the first wave of day shift workers streamed out, with their car horns blaring," Parsons said. "It took a few minutes to learn that this was part of protests organized by UAW members in the plant this past week as the March 29 expiration of the union contract with Case draws near."

Case is a major producer of construction and agricultural equipment. The contract covers 3,300 workers at five

Supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in Vancouver got off to a running start during the first week of the campaign to win new readers to the socialist press. "We sold 10 *Militant* subscriptions, 2 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and one copy of *New Internationalist*," said Bev Bernardo, a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE). "The highlight of the week was selling a subscription to a Fletcher Challenge striker in Campbell River on Vancouver Island. We also sold another subscription going door-to-door there and learned about a rally taking place on April 4 in solidarity with the strike." (See article on front page)

Bernardo said they sold subscriptions at a variety of activities, including a conference on Latin America at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, British Columbia, where participants purchased 20 Pathfinder titles, one *Militant* subscription, one subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and one copy of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*. "We also sold three subscriptions on the campus at the University of British Columbia and two at a *Militant* Labor Forum on Kosovo along with two copies of *The Truth About Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention*."



Militant/Jacque Anderson

Supporters of the *Militant* sold 56 copies at events in Vancouver over the weekend of March 7. Above, a sales team staffing a Pathfinder table in the city March 7 at a 1998 International Women's Day Fair.

plants in Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota.

Parsons said some workers reported that the vote taken in Local 1304 in East Moline to authorize strike action passed overwhelmingly, and that the company has stepped up harassment of workers in the plant in recent days. Management issued a letter threatening three-day suspensions for anyone who takes time off. Some workers called off work in protest. In the contract talks Case is seeking to increase mandatory overtime. Other workers also noted that retirement benefits, including for current retirees, are under attack.

"Most of those buying the *Militant* were drawn to its ongoing coverage of the fight by UAW workers at Caterpillar and other working-class struggles worldwide," Parsons concluded. Several workers expressed agreement with the *Militant's* opposition to U.S. war moves in Iraq and Yugoslavia.

Socialist workers in Detroit organized a special effort to get the paper in the hands of Albanian workers living in the area last week, Holly Harkness reports. "We knocked on doors in Hamtramck where there is a concentration of Albanian immigrants and sold one subscription and 10 issues of the *Militant*. We met recent immigrants who were not fluent enough in English to read the paper, but were glad to see workers in the United States supporting their cause." Harkness said they also sold a subscription to an Albanian UAW member on strike at Masco Tech in Sterling Heights, Michigan.

Supporters of the *Militant* in Miami are preparing to leave on a sales and reporting team to Puerto Rico March 27-31, where they will cover the convention of the Federation of Pro-Independence University Students and distribute the socialist press among workers, farmers, and student activists.

"We've also been invited to speak on some campuses there and plan to interview longtime independence fighter Rafael Cancel Miranda," said

Wendy Lyons, a member of UNITE in New York, who plans to join the team. "I got a leave of absence from my job to go on a fact-finding trip to the Caribbean island to discuss its colonial status among workers and students there," she added. The garment worker said the trip will officially launch her campaign as the Socialist Workers candidate for State Attorney General.

Young Socialists leader Cecilia Ortega from Chicago is also part of the team in Puerto Rico.

The *Militant* urges its readers to send in plans for regional sales teams and future political events. Reports of sales on the job and discussions with co-workers are welcome. And remember to get your subscriptions and sales reports in by noon each Tuesday to be included on the scoreboard.

SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE MARCH 14 - MAY 10

Week 1 should be 13%

	Militant Goal	Sold	%	PM Goal	Sold	NI Goal	Sold
Sweden	16	4	25%	6	1	10	3
New Zealand							
Christchurch	25	6	24%	1		8	
Auckland	35	6	17%	2		8	
Wellington	4	2	0%	1		1	
N.Z. Total	64	12	19%	4	0	17	0
Canada							
Vancouver	50	10	20%	6	2	20	1
Toronto	45	6	13%	8	1	20	1
Montreal	25	2	8%	7		25	6
Canada Total	120	18	15%	21	3	65	8
Australia	16	2	13%	5	3	10	1
United Kingdom							
London	45	5	11%	8	1	35	4
Manchester	26	3	12%	2		18	1
U.K. Total	71	8	11%	10	1	53	5
United States							
Miami	45	7	16%	22	5	20	5
Philadelphia	35	5	14%	8	0	10	
Seattle	70	10	14%	15	1	25	
Atlanta	30	4	13%	13	0	18	3
Houston	40	4	10%	10	2	10	
Los Angeles	100	10	10%	50	3	50	
Des Moines	45	4	9%	25	2	25	
Newark, NJ	125	11	9%	50	4	60	
San Francisco	80	7	9%	30	8	35	1
New York	150	11	7%	75	9	75	
Boston	50	3	6%	20	3	40	6
Twin Cities, MN	70	4	6%	12	3	20	
Chicago	90	5	6%	40	1	30	
Detroit	40	2	5%	8	0	15	
Birmingham, AL	50	2	4%	10	4	15	
Washington, DC	45	1	2%	15	1	15	6
Pittsburgh	50	1	2%	3	0	15	
Cleveland	35		0%	8		10	
U.S. total	1150	69	6%	414	34	488	21
International totals	1437	135	10%	460	54	643	38
Goal/Should be	1400	182	13%	450	59	600	78

IN THE UNIONS

Canada							
USWA	5	1	20%	1		5	1
IAM	9	1	11%	1		5	1
CAW	4		0%	0		2	
UNITE	2		0%	1		2	
Canada total	20	2	10%	3		14	2
New Zealand							
MWU	3	1	33%			1	
EU	5		0%			1	
SFWU	2		0%			1	
NZ total	10	1	10%			3	
United States							
UFCW	15	2	13%	16	2	10	
UNITE	10	1	10%	12	1	10	1
IAM	60	5	8%	14	1	35	3
UTU	50	3	6%	5		20	1
UAW	45	2	4%	10	1	22	1
OCAW	26	1	4%	5		20	
USWA	49	1	2%	7	1	31	2
U.S. total	255	15	6%	69	6	148	8
Australia							
AMWU	3		0%			2	
TCFU	1		0%	1	1	1	
Australia total	4		0%	1	1	3	
United Kingdom							
AEEU	5		0%			6	
RMT	3		0%			3	1
TGWU	5		0%			3	
U.K. total	13		0%			12	1

AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMWU — Amalgamated Manufacturers Union; CAW — Canadian Autoworkers Union; EU — Engineers Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT — National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU — Transport and General Workers Union; TCFU — Textile, Clothing and Footwear Union; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFBGWU — United Food, Beverage, and General Workers Union; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; UNITE — Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union.

100 Years Since the Spanish-American War:

The Struggle for National Sovereignty in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines

Featured speakers include: **Orlando Borrego**, Professor of Economics at the University of Havana and close collaborator with Ernesto Che Guevara in 1960s ♦ **Camilo Guevara**, lecturer at Havana University and son of Che Guevara ♦ **Gustavo Machin**, Third Secretary of the Cuban Interests Section ♦ **Juan Mari Bras**, central figure in the Puerto Rican independence struggle and Professor of Constitutional Law, Eugenio Maria de Hostos School of Law ♦ **Mary-Alice Waters**, president of Pathfinder Press and editor of *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara* ♦ **Addi Batika**, veteran of Philippine resistance movement in the 1970s ♦ **Kathryn Sikkink**, Professor of Political Science at University of Minnesota.

Presentations ♦ Classes ♦ Cultural Event/Social

April 17-18 ♦ Minneapolis

Coffman Memorial Union ♦ University of Minnesota

Students: \$3, general admission: \$10. No one turned away for lack of funds.

For more information call: (612) 624-9007

Black Music, White Business

FRANK KOFKY

Probes the principal contradiction in the jazz world: that between Black artistry on the one hand and white ownership of the means of jazz distribution—the recording companies, booking agencies, festivals, night-clubs, and magazines—one the other. \$15.95

John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s

FRANK KOFKY

Coltrane's role in spearheading the last major innovative development in jazz, and how the 1960s jazz revolution reflected an intense cultural, political, and ideological ferment — marked especially by the rise of resistance to racial discrimination. Formerly published as *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*. \$23.95, paper. Also available in cloth: \$65.00.



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St. New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Pro-choice activists defend clinic in Boston

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, 1573 N. Milwaukee, P.O. Box #478, Chicago, Ill. 60622. Tel: (773) 772-0551. Compuserve: 105162,605

BY ELENA TATE

BOSTON — Some two dozen pro-choice fighters held a spirited clinic defense March 14. On the second Saturday of every month, the National Organization for Women (NOW) organizes to defend the Planned Parenthood abortion clinic here in Boston. From 8-10 a.m., women's rights fighters gather in front of the building to ensure that women seeking to enter it are not blocked from doing so by opponents of abortion rights. At the same time, antichoice forces mobilize in front of the clinic.

Saint Aidan's, a local Catholic parish, organizes about 150 people to march from their church to the clinic. There they join Operation Rescue and other antiabortion activists who harass and try to intimidate women seeking health services at the clinic on a daily basis. Planned Parenthood operates the clinic where antiabortion terrorist John Salvi killed two workers in December, 1994. The Boston police set up barricades on the sidewalk that separate the two sides, and patrol the area. This month a police-wagon was stationed outside of the clinic as well.

Usually the monthly actions are small; last month there were only seven people.

This month was different. The Young Socialists here in Boston helped build the

action and organized several young people to go to it who have been involved in other activities with the YS, like plant gate sales of the *Militant*, Militant Labor Forums and classes on *New International* no. 7 featuring the article: "The Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault Against Iraq." Six youth who participated in the clinic defense had never done anything like it before.

Jen Richardson, a high school student, carried a sign that read: "Honk if Pro-Choice." This got a great response, and helped to incorporate others into the demonstration, while illustrating the isolation of the antiabortion forces. Each honk drew cheers and raised fists from the defenders.

Two of the most popular chants were: "Racist, sexist, antigay, born-again bigots, go away!" and "Hey, hey, woman-haters, women are not incubators!" The pro-choice mobilization got so excited that some jumped up and down with their signs, dancing inside the police barricades. Chants had to be made up throughout the morning to reflect the growing energy level of the demonstrators. Two of these were: "You can bomb and you can pray, but abortion rights are here to stay!" and "Operation Rescue, can't you see? You're on the wrong side of history!"

The antichoice demonstrators had more people than the pro-choice, but they were completely drowned out for the entire two hours, and left to a chorus of: "Operation Rescue, one thing's clear: if you show up, we'll be here!"

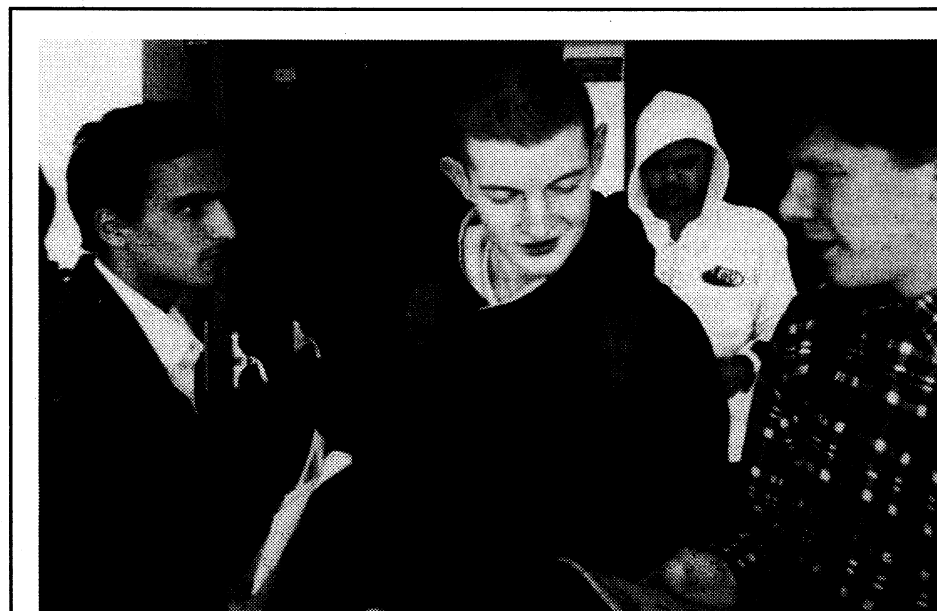
One young man, 16, who had doubts about whether he thought women should have the right to choose, went to the clinic defense and lost his voice from chanting down the antiabortion protesters. "My whole

view about abortion completely changed after being out there," he said hoarsely. As the action was ending he went up to everyone and encouraged them all to bring everyone they knew to defend the clinic: "Let's go for a hundred people next month!"

From the clinic defense, members of the Young Socialists and others went out to set up Pathfinder book tables and to sell the *Militant*. Six people signed up for more information on the YS at the table. Then, in the afternoon, the YS organized a class on "The Opening Guns of World War III,"

where five of the young people from the clinic defense participated in a discussion on the motivations behind the U.S. drive towards war against Iraq. Bill Sullivan, who has attended two classes on the *New International* magazine, said afterward that he was really glad that he came to the clinic defense early that morning. "I only got three hours of sleep, but that was definitely worth waking up early for."

Elena Tate is a high school student and member of the Young Socialists.



Militant/Michael Pennock
YS member Gaetan Whiston, left, talks socialism with high school students in Minneapolis in February. Many YS chapters have taken goals to sell *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions and Pathfinder books in the current drive.

San Francisco bookstores order 600 Pathfinder titles

BY OSBORNE HART

SAN FRANCISCO — In a week-long effort Pathfinder representatives here continued their commercial sales work, expanded the reach of revolutionary books, and laid the ground for future purchases.

The week prior to the March 1-7 Bay Area sales tour, Pathfinder supporters set up appointments with independent retail bookstores, public libraries, and campus bookstores and libraries in some of the major universities in Berkeley, Palo Alto, Santa Cruz, San Francisco, San Jose, Sacramento, and others. Nine local sales representatives carried out the visits with Luis Madrid, from Pathfinder's office in New York. This endeavor netted orders for over 400 books.

Some of these outlets already had Pathfinder accounts; others ordered for the first time. Many book buyers ordered some of the newly-released titles. This included a total of 31 copies of two new Pathfinder books by Frank Kofsky, *John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s* and *Black Music, White Business*. The buyer for a major Black bookstore in the Bay Area, which has stores in San Francisco and Oakland, ordered 78 books including multiple cop-

ies of *Coltrane* and *Black Music*, as well as titles by Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela, *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, and *Pombo: A Man of Che's Guerrilla*. Book buyers placed orders for 76 Malcolm X titles in the course of the sales visits. The following week, Pathfinder received an additional order for 87 copies of *Malcolm X Speaks* for classroom use at a major university in Palo Alto.

At a San Francisco university, Pathfinder reps met with librarians from the Black, Latin American, and labor studies areas, all of whom will consider ordering several books and pamphlets. The campus bookstore buyer restocked, ordering 57 titles.

A buyer at a Sacramento-based chain was very receptive to what Pathfinder offers — particularly books in Spanish and about struggles in Latin America. This buyer, who ordered 80 plus books, explained that within the chain buyers have license to order what will sell in their store. The buyer at a campus bookstore in Davis is expanding the foreign language section. He included titles in Spanish, French, Farsi, and Swedish in his order for 24 books.

Besides reviewing the Pathfinder catalog

with most buyers, sales representatives referred to and gave copies of literary journal reviews of books by the New York-based publisher. A review of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Bolivian Diary* that appeared in the September/October '97 issue of *Foreign Affairs* proved particularly helpful in promoting titles on the Cuban revolution and by Cuban revolutionaries. The sales team sold 89 titles in this category, including 13

books and 14 booklets by Cuban Brig. Gen. Harry Villegas, who fought with Che Guevara in the Congo and Bolivia under the *nomme de guerre* "Pombo." Orders for issues of *New International* in English and Spanish totaled 22 copies.

The follow-up work by Bay Area local reps since the end of the tour has resulted in additional orders, which bring the total sold to some 600 Pathfinder titles.

County labor council backs Seattle free speech fight

BY NAN BAILEY

SEATTLE — The King County Labor Council (KCLC), the central labor body of AFL-CIO unions in the Seattle area, has thrown its support behind efforts to defend free speech and the rights to privacy and voluntary association. The FCLC is made up of 155 labor organizations representing more than 100,000 workers.

Last year the SEEC denied an exemption to the campaigns of Socialist Workers candidates Scott Breen for Mayor and Robbie Scherr for City Council from publicly disclosing the names, addresses, and employers of their contributors vendors. Below is the letter from the KCLC in its entirety.



Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission
226 Municipal Building
600 Fourth Avenue

Seattle, WA 98104

Dear Commissioners:

The King County Labor Council, AFL-CIO, submits this letter to urge that the SEEC reverse its decision of assessing penalties against the Socialist Workers' 1997 Campaign, and also that the SEEC grant the Socialist Workers' request for a reporting exemption.

As the commission knows, the United States Supreme Court has previously evaluated the claim by the Socialist Workers that an exemption from disclosure of its contributors is necessary to protect the contributors to this minor party from harassment. There is no reason that the problems of harassment that justify the Supreme Court's

decision are less present in Washington State in 1997 than they were in Ohio in 1982, when the Supreme Court decided *Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee (Ohio)*, 459 U.S. 87(1982). To the contrary, the materials submitted by the Socialist Workers reflect that the level of harassment in Washington is among the highest in the nation.

The King County Labor Council believes strongly that political organizations should not be required to release information to government agencies when the information "carries with it a real potential for chilling the free exercise of political speech and association guarded by the First Amendment." *Machinists Non-partisan Political League*, 655 F.2d 380, 388 (DC Cir.) cert denied 454 U.S. 897 (1981). Of course, disclosure of contributors to political campaigns serves a substantial public interest. However, particularly with respect to minor parties such as the Socialist Workers, the King County Labor Council submits that the threat to free speech and association that is imposed by requiring disclosure of all contributors far exceeds the marginal public interest in obtaining information regarding the names and employers of its few contributors.

For these reasons, the King County Labor Council strongly urges the SEEC to reverse the penalties imposed by the Executive Director, and to follow the FECA and the PDC in granting a reporting exemption to the Socialist Workers' party. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,
Ron Judd, Executive Secretary
King County Labor Council

Sales of Pathfinder Books to Non-Pathfinder Outlets

FEBRUARY

CITY	GOALS	SOLD	%	JAN.	DEC	NOV
UNITED STATES						
LOS ANGELES	95	335	353%	113%	148	61
CHICAGO	60	110	183%	207%	69	76
WASHINGTON, D.C.	42	61	145%	176%	48	124
BOSTON	50	66	132%	358%	231	9
BIRMINGHAM	50	34	68%	68%	40	5
SAN FRANCISCO	74	40	54%	73%	195	256
NEW YORK	190	95	50%	155%	354	7
DES MOINES	35	17	49%	57%	574	163
SEATTLE	60	23	38%	135%	21	5
CLEVELAND	40	5	13%	78%	18	134
NEWARK	133	9	7%	29%	156	1
PITTSBURGH	49	3	6%	131%	24	0
HOUSTON	32	1	3%	56%	8	1
PHILADELPHIA	55	1	2%	164%	158	39
DETROIT	60	1	2%	2%	0	28
ATLANTA	32	0	0%	475%	204	239
TWIN CITIES	67	0	0%	6%	23	16
MIAMI	42	0	0%	157%	17	108
U.S. TOTAL	1166	801	69%	123%	2084	1272
CANADA						
TORONTO	60	44	73%	240%	13	24
VANCOUVER	35	7	20%	6%	25	16
MONTREAL	41	7	17%	27%	7	3
CANADA TOTAL	136	58	43%	115%	45	43

40,000 truckers strike in S. Africa

BY T.J. FIGUEROA

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Forty thousand truck drivers and other workers in the road and freight industries took to the streets in a national strike here March 16-22, halting 36,000 delivery trucks. Delivery of air freight, gasoline, food, and other goods was affected. About 90 percent of all South African companies rely on truckers to deliver their goods.

Nearly all of the workers, who are represented by seven unions, are black. They demanded wage increases ranging from R40 (\$8) a week for the lowest-paid general workers to R60 (\$12) a week for long-distance drivers. Wages average R450 per week — about \$90. Annual inflation currently runs at 6-7 percent.

Five days into the strike, the trucking companies agreed to most of the workers' demands in negotiations with the government's Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration. Long haul drivers won an 11.8 percent increase; lower-paid workers had their wages raised by as much as 14 percent.

Workers also won a subsistence allowance increase of 21 percent. This covers, among other things, meals on road trips,

which drivers must currently pay for out of their own pockets. In many rigs, drivers are on the road from 2-4 weeks at a time working in teams — one sleeps while the other drives. Housing for these over-the-road truckers consists of a bench in the back of the truck cab.

Thousands marched in Johannesburg, Durban, and other cities during the walk-out. In Johannesburg, the city center was effectively paralyzed. Strikers forcefully persuaded nonstriking truckers to stop driving their vehicles, and there were a few clashes with police. "No worker in this country who is exercising their right to withhold their labor will allow scabs to disrupt a strike," said a spokesperson for the Transport and General Workers Union.

The strike follows a year in which work stoppages dropped to their lowest level since 1988. Large-scale strike action fell to 650,000 workdays in 1997, a 64 percent drop from the 1.7 million days lost in 1996.

The vast majority of strikes are wage-related, as black workers fight to bring their pay up to the level of their white counterparts and secure living wages. Nearly all walkouts also aim to sweep away the remnants of the apartheid organization of labor.

Michigan students: 'Defend affirmative action'



Militant/John Sarge

Chanting "Back to segregation we won't go!" and "Ward Connerly's plans: Hell no!" nearly 100 people rallied to defend affirmative action at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, March 18, and to protest a visit from Connerly. One of the main proponents of California's anti-affirmative action measure Proposition 209, Connerly is now touring the country to garner support for groups that oppose affirmative action in more than 20 states. Michigan state representative Deborah Whyman announced a state-wide petitioning drive to put an anti-affirmative action proposal on the November ballot.

Cutbacks lead to month-long Auckland blackout

BY JAMES ROBB

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — The central business district (CBD) of this city of 1 million people was left without electric power on February 20, after the last of four 110 kilovolt (kV) cables bringing power into the city center failed. It was more than two weeks before one cable was repaired, restoring a limited power supply. Full power is not expected to be restored until April. Auckland is New Zealand's largest city, and the CBD is the nation's commercial capital.

The four cables failed one after the other, beginning January 22. Only one 22kV reserve cable was left operational. With the reserve cable diverted to emergency services, such as Auckland Hospital, and to water supply and sewage facilities, many businesses and services were forced to close or to relocate.

Ships were diverted to other ports. The University of Auckland and the Auckland Institute of Technology both closed for a week, affecting more than 30,000 staff and students, as did several inner-city schools. Many central city hotels closed, though most reopened using diesel generators. A senior doctor at Auckland Hospital reported that lives were put at risk after emergency generators failed to kick in when power was cut to operating rooms.

Tens of thousands of people were turned away from work on the morning of February 23, as businesses that struggled to open lost power and were forced to shut. Hundreds of temporary office workers, cleaners, and retail shop workers were laid off.

Computer systems based in the CBD crashed, disrupting commercial transactions throughout the Auckland region and even nationally, including real estate sales, the processing of social welfare benefits, and some hire purchase payments. Banking was largely unaffected, except within the CBD itself.

Mass reinforcements of police were

rushed to the CBD to patrol the darkened city. For a few days, the CBD was largely deserted, except for large numbers of police and private security guards. However, the crime and chaos anticipated by authorities never eventuated, and instead many instances of cooperation among those affected by the blackout were noted.

As the costs of the collapse mounted into hundreds of millions of dollars, the electricity utility responsible for Auckland's supply, Mercury Energy, denied that it was at fault. "It's the most incredible, freakish bit of bad luck you could ever imagine," said Jim Macaulay, the chairman of Mercury Energy. Company officials speculated that an unusually hot summer associated with the El Niño weather pattern might have caused the cables to fail. This response was met with widespread skepticism.

John Collinge, the former chairman of Mercury's predecessor, the Auckland Electric Power Board (AEPB), who was dumped in 1992 because he opposed privatization of the utility, condemned Mercury's refusal to take responsibility for the crisis. He said Mercury had laid off cable jointers who had experience in finding and mending faults. Collinge said it was well-known that the age of the cables, additional ground heat in a hot summer, and extra loading from increasing demand would put them under enormous pressure. "Instead, the company is preoccupied with takeovers," he said.

"The fact that the workforce has halved from 1,200 in 1992-1993 makes it almost impossible for them to say lack of maintenance has not contributed to the problem," he added. Collinge is a former president of the National Party, the ruling party in the coalition government. He served as New Zealand's High Commissioner to London from 1994-97.

Mercury Energy itself had predicted in March 1996 that because of growing demands for power in the CBD, the existing

cables would not be able to cope beyond the end of 1997. This followed a near-breakdown in December 1995, when three of the four cables had failed.

In fact, work had already begun on a new tunnel to carry power cables to replace the four that failed. The tunnel project, which began in May 1997, has itself been plagued with problems. In January this year a worker was killed when a locomotive derailed and pinned him against a wall. Two weeks later another worker was paralyzed after a part of the tunnel collapsed on him. The injured worker, a qualified mines inspector with 30 years' mining experience, publicly criticized slack safety procedures on the project.

Others have pointed to the recent restructuring of the electricity industry as a major factor in the blackout debacle. Until 1992 electricity distribution was a nationalized industry, run locally by publicly elected boards. Since the partial privatization, the price of electricity to domestic consumers has increased, while the price paid by in-

dustrial and commercial users has gone down.

The formation of Mercury Energy with a corporate structure was the first step towards an eventual privatization. In recent months, Mercury has been engaged in a protracted takeover bid for a neighboring utility, Power New Zealand, in legal wrangles over wholesale pricing of electricity with Transpower, the corporation set up to operate the national electrical grid, and in acquiring its own electrical generating facilities.

The government announced that it would continue its plans to privatize the whole electricity industry, along with other elements of the economic infrastructure, such as roads and water supplies. The impact of Auckland's electricity blackout on the economy comes on top of the fallout effects of the Asian currency crisis and a drought hitting large parts of the rural economy.

James Robb is a member of the Meat Workers Union in Auckland.

Leader of landless peasants in Brazil to tour United States

BY ELLEN BERMAN

SAN FRANCISCO — Daniel Correia, a leader of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) of Brazil, will visit several cities in the United States April 13-25. His tour is being sponsored by the San Francisco-based organization Global Exchange. Correia is a state leader of the MST from Rio Grande do Sul. For the past five years he has coordinated education and agricultural training for participants in land occupations in Brazil. In August 1997, Correia was part of the MST delegation to the World Festival of Youth and Students in Cuba.

In Brazil, the richest 20 percent of the population own 90 percent of the land. Much of the land is left idle or devoted to crop production only for export, while millions of Brazilians go without food. The MST was formed in 1985 to organize landless rural workers to defend their right to land. There are close to 12 million landless peasants and rural workers in Brazil; since its formation, the MST has organized some 130,000 of them to occupy idle land.

According to Ken Preston, one of the tour organizers, the purpose of Correia's visit is "to educate people about the situation in Brazil and to build more cross-border solidarity between the MST and groups in the United States."

The MST has become a major voice of opposition to the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who claims that he is trying to enact agrarian reform, but insists that the MST "are not just fighting for agrarian reform, but fighting against

the capitalist system." Some of the land occupations have been met with violence from the government and the landowners.

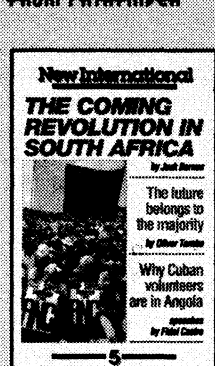
The MST has also faced frame-ups by the Brazilian authorities, including of one of its central leaders, José Rainha, Jr. He was convicted on trumped-up charges in the death of a landowner and a cop during a 1989 land occupation and sentenced to 26 years in prison. Evidence presented at the trial showed that he was in a different state at the time of the incident. There is an international campaign to free Rainha.

Between April 21-24, Correia will address audiences in California at La Peña in Berkeley, Stanford University, University of California-Santa Cruz, and either Santa Monica College or the University of California in Los Angeles. He will also speak at meeting at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York; Tulane University in New Orleans; and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. On April 16 Correia will be the opening speaker at the Janey Conference, organized by academics interested in Brazil, which will take place at the New School for Social Research in New York City. Plans are in the works for other campus engagements.

Meeting with trade unionists in the various cities that host the MST leader are also planned, including with farm workers in the midst of a union organizing drive with the United Farm Workers in California.

For more information, contact Global Exchange, 2017 Mission St., Rm. 303, San Francisco, CA 94110. Phone (415)255-7296. FAX (415) 255-7498.

FROM PATHFINDER



The Coming Revolution in South Africa

Jack Barnes

The one-person, one-vote elections in 1994, and the sweeping victory of the African National Congress, were historic steps in the democratic revolution in South Africa. This article explores the social character and roots of apartheid in South African capitalism and the tasks of the toilers in city and countryside in dismantling the legacy of social and economic inequality. Only among the most committed cadres of this ANC-led struggle, Barnes writes, can the working class begin forging a communist leadership. In *New Internationalist* no. 5. Also includes "Why Cuban Volunteers Are in Angola": 2 speeches by Fidel Castro. \$9.00

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12 or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Macedonia: fight for national rights of Albanians heats up

BY JACK WILLEY
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

TETOVO, Macedonia—"We have held mass demonstrations in Skopje and Tetovo to support our Albanian brothers and sisters in Kosovo who are struggling for their freedom," said Basri Saliu, a student leader at the Albanian-language University of Tetovo. "The fight for independence of Kosovo is tied directly to the struggle for our national rights in Macedonia." This view was shared by several other students who participated in the 30,000-strong action here March 4, protesting the recent assault in the Drenica region of Kosovo by Serbian police forces that resulted in killing more than 85 Albanians.

About 60,000 people, overwhelmingly Albanian, demonstrated March 6 in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia. The actions were called by several political parties that are predominant among Albanians in collaboration with student leaders, the League of Albanian Women, and other organizations. The march in Skopje was met by a provocative counterdemonstration by dozens of Macedonians.

Slogans at the rallies included: "Brothers in Drenica, we are with you"; "The terrorists are the Serbian police"; "End the occupation"; and "All the people of Kosovo are UCK!", the Albanian-language initials for the Kosovo Liberation Army. Echoing calls initiated by procapitalist forces among Albanians here and in Kosovo for what amounts to direct military intervention by imperialist powers, a few demonstrators carried signs reading, "Where is Europe?"

These recent protests follow a wave of actions by Albanians last July in Gostivar, Tetovo, and elsewhere in the predominantly Albanian western Macedonia for recognition of their national rights. Those previous mobilizations were sparked by a ban on flying the Albanian flag in public by the procapitalist government in Skopje.

Albanians: an oppressed nationality

According to government figures, 23 percent of the 1.9 million people living in Macedonia are Albanian. Most Albanians interviewed by *Militant* reporters put the figure closer to 35 percent. Despite important gains registered through the Yugoslav revolution in the 1940s, Albanians remain an oppressed nationality in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which was declared independent in 1992. Among all the regions of the formerly federated Yugoslavia, the economic and social conditions in Macedonia are the lowest, except for in neighboring Kosovo. Albanians have been hit the hardest as the regime of Kiro Gligorov in Skopje has shut down factories, slashed jobs in state-owned industries, and attempted to sell off nationalized enterprises to investors from abroad.

Tetex, a state-owned textile mill in Tetovo, is indicative of the discrimination in employment that exists here against Albanians. Tetovo is a city of 65,000. With its suburbs, the population of the metropolitan area is 180,000 — 80 percent of whom are

Albanian. Yet, only 10–20 percent of the 4,000 Tetex workers are of Albanian origin.

At the largest shoe factory here, only 10 percent of the workforce of 400 are Albanian, said Fodyl, a worker at that plant who asked to be identified only by his first name. The composition of the workforce is similar at Yugochrom, a nickel and chrome manufacturing mill in the suburbs of Tetovo. "Albanians hold disproportionately the most physically demanding jobs and those that pay the least," Fodyl added.

"Everyone has friends or relatives who live abroad, especially in Germany and Switzerland," said Isamet Bakui, a leader of the Students Union at the Albanian-language University of Tetovo. "They go looking for work because it's very difficult for young people to find a job here." Unemployment benefits average \$70 a month, which does not come close to covering monthly living expenses.

The official unemployment rate is 30 percent. For Albanians it is at least 40 percent. "It is probably higher, since these are our own rough estimates," said Xhevair Memedi, a professor of English-language literature at the University of Tetovo. "The government does not provide accurate statistics for ethnic Albanians as part of its refusal to recognize we are a distinct nationality." Bakui said unemployment is especially high among Albanian youth, most of whom never finished high school, if they ever attended.

Housing, roads, and services such as water, sewage, and electricity are in much worse shape in areas that are predominantly Albanian. This was obvious driving from the more mixed and well-off downtown Tetovo and surrounding residential areas toward the old city that is inhabited overwhelmingly by Albanians. "Often water is running here only in the morning," said Hiureme Gura, an English-language teacher who is Albanian. "Sometimes we wish some Macedonians would move to this part of town. It would be the only way to get government funds to fix the infrastructure."

The majority Albanian neighborhoods on the outskirts of Skopje, which many refer to as slums, face similar deprivations. Tensions between police and Albanian youth are often high. About a year ago, disturbances broke out in those areas of the Macedonian capital when police fired on Albanians who the cops alleged carried explosives.

Struggle over education in Albanian

Many of the gains stemming from the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia have eroded at an accelerating pace under the current Skopje regime. After the 1945 revolution that brought into being the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, a parallel school structure was set up for Macedonians and Albanians to be taught in their own language. It was then that Macedonian became a written language and, along with Albanian, was recognized as one of the official Yugoslav languages.

According to Xhevair Memedi, many



Pathfinder map by Jay Ressler

Albanian-language high schools were shut down in Macedonia just before the shattering of the Titoist regime in Belgrade in 1991. Unlike in Kosovo, however, Albanian-language elementary schools, and to some degree high schools, still exist here. Memedi said that before 1991, about half of Albanian students went on to high school from elementary school, while almost all students who are Macedonian did so. The tremendous efforts by the Albanian people to establish independent schools over the last seven years have helped maintain this previous percentage.

At the college level, until 1990 most Albanian students in Macedonia who passed qualification exams went to the University of Pristina in Kosovo. It was the main Albanian-language university in Yugoslavia. After the Serbian regime banned Albanian-language education in 1991, the number of Albanians in Macedonia who continued on to college fell dramatically.

The University of Skopje, where instruction is almost entirely in Macedonian, allows only a token number of Albanians to study — 2–3 percent, according to Hiureme Gura, who also teaches at the University of Tetovo. One of the reasons is that after the breakup of Yugoslavia tuition was instituted in Macedonia for the first time, with fees at the University of Skopje ranging from \$1,000 to \$1,500 a year, reinforcing class biases in education. The average yearly wage of an industrial worker is about \$2,200 throughout the republic. The wages of Albanian workers average 20–30 percent less than those of Macedonians.

"We were better off in old Yugoslavia, before they put up borders between Macedonia and Serbia," said Gura. "We could use the Albanian flag publicly by the constitution, we could use our language in schools, including through the university level, we had more programs on radio and TV in Albanian." Such programs now amount to about one hour a day on state broadcasting, she said.

The University of Tetovo was established in 1994 in defiance of government attempts to deny Albanians the right to study in their own language through college. It is not recognized by Skopje. About 4,000 students take classes there today. Many Albanians across the city have opened up part of their homes to be turned into classrooms. An Albanian hotel owner, for example, donated a four-story apartment building that serves as the liberal arts college, which *Militant* reporters visited. All the supplies and books are donated. Professors are paid about \$100 a month and most work a second job to make ends meet. Tuition is based on what each student can afford to pay.

The deterioration of these social and economic conditions is behind the confrontations that erupted here last summer. The armed rebellion in Albania that brought down the openly pro-imperialist regime of Sali Berisha there last year also had an impact. "We watched that revolt closely," said Fodyl. "Berisha promised capitalism and democracy and he brought disaster. Good riddance."

July 1997: The battle in Gostivar

As the protests in solidarity with the struggle for self-determination of Albanians in Kosovo were being organized in early

March, Alaidin Demiri and Rufi Osmani, the mayors of Tetovo and Gostivar, received two-year and seven-and-half year prison sentences respectively. They had been convicted of defying a law passed by the Macedonian parliament last July that prohibited flying the Albanian flag publicly. The two city officials, along with the mayor of Debar, another predominantly Albanian city in western Macedonia, were arrested for refusing to take down the Albanian flag they had hoisted outside the city halls, alongside the Macedonian flag. Albanians see the flag as a symbol of their national identity and dignity. The passage of this law and a subsequent police crackdown spawned protests last July. More than 10,000 demonstrated in Gostivar and thousands more in Tetovo.

"The parliament in Skopje passed that law at 3:00 a.m. on July 9," said Fodyl, the worker at the shoe factory. "By 7:00 a.m. heavy police forces had descended into Gostivar, where the mayor was the most intransigent on flying the Albanian flag. The cops put the mayor under arrest, took down the flag by force, and refused to let Rufi Osmani address the people who gathered in front of city hall." As word got out in Gostivar, thousands of Albanians converged at the city center, with the crowds soon exceeding 10,000, said Fodyl and a number of students interviewed by the *Militant*. The police quickly charged the protesters, who were demanding the mayor speak, with clubs and tear gas. As demonstrators fought back, the cops opened fire, killing three people and wounding several others.

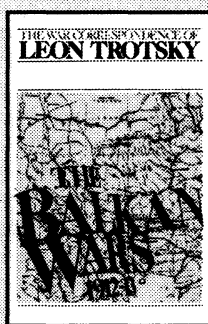
The police then began a sweep of many homes in the area, arresting and beating people indiscriminately, Fodyl said. "It was a day that won't be forgotten by Albanians," he added. "The government's aim was to frighten and intimidate the Albanian population. But they accomplished just the opposite."

Xhevair Memedi said the government in Skopje often uses the conflict with the Albanians to justify nationalist demagoguery and paper over disgruntlement by Macedonian working people with government austerity policies. "At the same time that parliament banned the use of our flag, the government devalued the denar [the Macedonian currency] by 20 percent," Memedi said. "Under other circumstances, this devaluation would have stirred protests throughout Macedonia." He later described the regime's attempts to sell-off state industries to foreign investors as "the biggest robbery in our history."

Imperialist intervention

Meanwhile, Washington and other imperialist governments are using the current situation to further their military intervention in the Balkans. This includes U.S. plans to convert the Krivolac army base in southern Macedonia into a NATO training center, which could be used for deployment of NATO troops into Kosovo. During a March 15 visit to Skopje, U.S. undersecretary of state Strobe Talbott praised the Gligorov regime for its collaboration with Washington. This was "an example to be followed in the Balkans," Talbott said. Washington has maintained over 500 troops in Macedonia since 1992, as part of a 1,000-strong United Nations "peacekeeping force"

Continued on Page 14



The Balkan Wars (1912-13)

The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky

On-the-spot analysis of national and social conflicts in the Balkans, written 80 years ago, sheds light on the conflicts shaking these countries today. \$32.95

Workers and Farmers Governments since the Second World War

Robert Chester

Articles on the governments that came to power in the revolutions in Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, and Algeria. Such workers and farmers regimes, writes Hansen in his preface, are examples of "the first form of government that can be expected to appear as the result of a successful anticapitalist revolution." \$6.00

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12 or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Albanians in Kosovo: decades of struggle

Below is a chronology of some of the turning points in the struggle for self-determination by Albanians in Kosovo.

1918 The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is formed. Kosovo is included in new state as part of Serbia. The name of the country is changed to Yugoslavia in 1929.

1941-42 Yugoslavia is invaded by Nazi troops. The Partisan resistance force is established, led by the Communist Party.

1943-44 Having proclaimed a provisional government, the Partisans, by now numbering 800,000, drive the occupation forces from Yugoslavia.

1944-45 A Partisan decree orders the confiscation of what amounts to 80 percent of industry, and most banks and commercial enterprises. After a brief period of a joint government with royalist forces, Partisan leader Josip Broz Tito becomes prime minister. Under the impact of revolutionary mobilizations including all nationalities, a land reform is enacted and a workers and peasants government comes into being.

1945 Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro and Macedonia become republics within the Yugoslav Federation. The Macedonian language is recognized for the first time. Affirmative action measures are implemented in the more backward areas of Montenegro and Macedonia. Albanians are recognized for the first time as a distinct national group and their language as one of Yugoslavia's official languages, but a separate republic is denied.

1950s A privileged bureaucratic caste consolidates its power in Yugoslavia and reaches an accommodation with Moscow.

1968 Large demonstrations in Pristina in November demand an end to chauvinist bureaucratic abuses by the authorities. At the same time students throughout Yugoslavia demonstrate for democratic rights and in opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam. Government passes constitutional amendment granting right to fly the Albanian flag.

1970 The Albanian-language University of Pristina is established.

1974 New constitution recognizes Kosovo and Vojvodina as autonomous provinces. Regional parliaments established.

1980 Tito dies and a rotating federal presidency between the republics is put in place.

March 1981 Protests by students at the University of Pristina against living conditions explode into large-scale demonstrations demanding republican status. Government declares state of emergency, and repression leads to nine deaths and more than 2,000 convictions to jail sentences or fines.

1988 Up to 500,000 people demonstrate in Kosovo against abuses by the federal government in Belgrade.

March 1989 Belgrade takes control of courts and police in Kosovo. Hundreds of thousands demonstrate in protest. At least 24 Albanians are killed by the police.

October 27, 1989 Underground sit-down strike by 60 Albanian miners in Stari Terz mine to protest the trials stemming from the March protests.

1990 Albanian-language broadcasting on Pristina radio and TV is ended and the main daily in Albanian, *Rilindja*, is banned.

January - February 1990 Waves of demonstrations demand the release of political prisoners and an end to the state of emergency. Cops kill at least 32 people.

July 1990 Belgrade dissolves the Kosovo parliament and takes direct control.

August 1990 Eight-day strike by miners demanding return to autonomous status. Later, 7,275 of 7,600 miners in Kosovo are fired from their jobs.

September 1990 Belgrade formally annexes Kosovo. More than 100,000 people join in one-day protest strike in response. Mass firings of Albanians begin when they refuse to sign a "loyalty oath" to Serbian regime.

September 7, 1990 The Albanian members of parliament meet and adopt a declaration

declaring Kosovo independent.

1991 All education and health care in the Albanian language is gradually segregated and then shut down. An illegal parallel education system in Albanian is established, from elementary school to college, functioning out of private homes.

1992 Ibrahim Rugova of the Democratic League of Kosovo is elected president of the Republic of Kosovo. Elections are deemed illegal by regime in Belgrade.

November 1995 Washington forces warring factions in Yugoslavia to sign accord at Wright-Patterson Air Force base near Dayton, Ohio, which opens the door to partition of Bosnia and NATO troop occupation.

September 1996 Belgrade regime signs agreement with Albanian leadership to reopen University of Pristina to Albanians.

October - December 1997 On October 1 and 29, and December 30, tens of thousands of students take part in demonstrations in Pristina to protest the Serbian regime's refusal to carry out agreement to reopen the University of Pristina to Albanians.



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

March 13, 1998, demonstration of 100,000 in Pristina, Kosovo. Drenica is a region of Kosovo where Serbian police assaulted villages in early March, killing 85 people.

WEST COAST WELCOME BACK FROM KOSOVO, CAIRO, AND HAVANA Socialist Conference • Los Angeles, April 4, 1998

Registration and Reception 11 a.m.-noon
Meet the speakers and talk with participants

12 noon-2:30 p.m.

EYEWITNESS TO RESISTANCE IN KOSOVO AND ALBANIA

- The Dayton Accord Marches East:
NATO Encirclement Tightens around Russia
- From Iraq to the Caspian Oil Fields and the Silk Road:
NATO's Southern Front in Formation
- Youth in the Balkans Confront Imperialism

Speaker: **ARGIRIS MALAPANIS** staff writer for the 'Militant' newspaper; co-author of 'The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention'

[discussion will be continued following the second talk]

3:00-5:30 p.m.

REBUILDING AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST YOUTH MOVEMENT WORLDWIDE

- International Response to U.S. Aggression against Iraq
- Building on the Momentum of the 1997 Havana International Youth Festival
- Report from Cairo Conference of the World Federation of Democratic Youth
- From Ireland to Puerto Rico, from Namibia to Cuba and the U.S.:
A Vanguard of Anti-Imperialist Youth Are in Contact

Speaker: **JACK WILLEY** organizer, National Executive Committee of the Young Socialists

Dinner (catered on site) 5:30 - 7:30 p.m.

Evening session 7:30-10:00 p.m.

CUBA IN 1998 - 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

- Cuba and Puerto Rico: 100 Years of Resistance since the First War of the Imperialist Epoch
- Havana Book Fair: Politics and Publishing — the Truth about the Past Is a Weapon for Today and Tomorrow
- The Place — and Weight — of Pathfinder Press in Reknitting a Communist Vanguard

Speaker: **MARY-ALICE WATERS**, president, Pathfinder Press; editor of 'Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War: 1956-58' by Ernesto Che Guevara

Sunday, April 5, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

Special California State Nominating Convention of the Socialist Workers Party (Open to delegates and supporters)

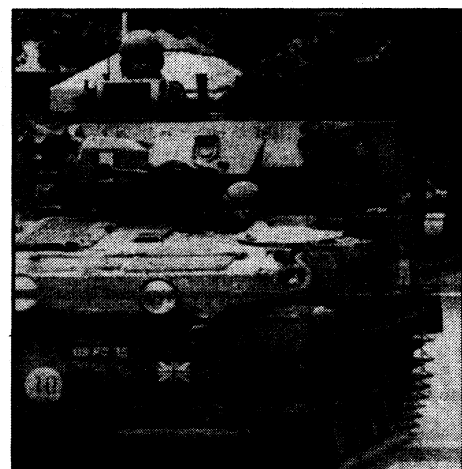
Quality Inn Hotel - Airport
5249 West Century Blvd.

For more information, contact:

Los Angeles: (213) 380-9460; San Francisco: (415) 282-6255

Seattle: (206) 323-1755

Young Socialists National Committee: (773) 772-0551



TOP: PATHFINDER STAND AT HAVANA BOOK FAIR, FEBRUARY 1998. BOTTOM: NATO TROOPS IN BANJA LUKA, NORTHWESTERN BOSNIA.

Special Appeal for 1998 Militant Fund

Jack Willey and Argiris Malapanis will be just back from a three-week reporting trip to Egypt and Balkans for the 'Militant.' Mary-Alice Waters recently returned from a reporting trip to Cuba and the Eighth International Book Fair in Havana.

Sponsors:

Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party
San Francisco Socialist Workers Party
Seattle Socialist Workers Party
Los Angeles Young Socialists
San Francisco Young Socialists
Seattle Young Socialists
Young Socialists National Committee

Struggle for women's equality in U.S., Cuba

BY ROSE ANA BERBEO

NEW YORK — "The question of women is permanently on the agenda of the Cuban revolution," stated Mirtha Hormilla, a member of the permanent mission of Cuba to the United Nations, at an event on March 21 titled "Women In Cuba Today" that drew about 90 people.

The event was sponsored by Casa de las Américas, an organization of Cubans and other Latin Americans living in the United States who support the Cuban revolution. Hormilla was part of a panel that included Marisol Valdez, also from the Cuban mission; Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press and editor of numerous books on both Cuba and women's liberation; Margarita Samad-Matias, professor of human rights and women's studies at City College of New York; and Viviana Lam, a student at Hostos Community College who recently helped organize a very successful panel discussion there on "Women in the Next Millennium." The meeting was chaired by Nancy Cabrera of Casa de las Américas. Puerto Rican actress/playwright Sandra Rodríguez gave a dramatic reading from one of her new plays to open the event.

Hormilla noted that one of the first acts of the Cuban Revolution was the land reform. Among those who received titles to the land they worked, "an important percentage were women," she said. "At the United Nations, it pains us to see how many women in the world today are still denied the right to own land."

Hormilla pointed out that even the "most intransigent enemies of the revolution" have had to recognize social gains such as in education and health care, which women and children have benefited from the most. She cited an annual UN report that lists Cuba as ranking 16th in the world for development of women.

"The revolutionary government has worked to guarantee equal opportunities for women's participation, and this is institutionalized" through the 1976 Cuban constitution, the Family Code adopted at that time, and constant attention of the revolutionary leadership, Hormilla explained. She noted that women make up 46 percent of the workforce, "which is to say that women are encouraged to work." The government's policy is to create child care and other services that make this possible.

"No woman doubts that she has equal rights to men," Hormilla continued. "But changing the mentality, not only of men but

of women, happens at a slower pace. Even though the Family Code recognizes the equal responsibility of both partners, no one can deny that in the home it's women who still carry the main responsibility for the family."

Impact of the 'Special Period'

That burden became heavier with the abrupt end to Cuba's favorable trade relations with the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s and the deep economic crisis that followed known as the "Special Period," Hormilla explained. This is aggravated by the 1992 Torricelli Law, the 1996 Helms-Burton law, and other moves by the U.S. government to tighten the economic squeeze on Cuba, she said.

Valdez noted that women "have suffered the most from the lack of variety of food; the cutbacks in transportation that make going to and from work take longer; and when spare parts for domestic appliances don't arrive in time, making daily life harder."

Since 1990, the Cuban government "has come up with a strategic plan to protect the gains the people have won since the triumph of the revolution — access to education, health care, access to jobs, and social security," said Valdez, and within this "women have a special priority."

She gave some examples of the high percentage of women in different sectors of the labor force. Women comprise 57 percent of university students and 27 percent of the Cuban parliament, Valdez added.

Hormilla pointed to the education of women as one of the most important gains. Illiteracy has been eliminated, she noted, "and everyone — including housewives — has at least a sixth-grade education. This cultural level is one of the strengths of the revolution."

Samad-Matias, a longtime activist in solidarity with Cuba, stated that improvement of the status of women in Cuba "is a revolution within a revolution, without which it is impossible to have fundamental social change."

The U.S. government "doesn't want people to travel to Cuba and tells them lies about Cuba," Samad-Matias said. "They don't want people to learn that only 90 miles away a different system exists, where despite being attacked in so many ways 11 million people are still surviving and developing and have many more social services than people in the richest country in the



Right: Militant/Megan Arney

Women in militia march in Havana, 1996. "The revolution has worked to guarantee equal opportunities for women's participation," said Mirtha Hormilla, right.



world." She noted that women in Cuba are entitled to six months paid maternity leave after giving birth (and another six months unpaid), where women in the United States are lucky to get six weeks leave without pay.

The professor also pointed to the role that Cuban doctors and other internationalists play throughout the semicolonial world. "I think we have so much to learn from women of Cuba, for allowing us to see our dreams are possible," she said.

Women's rights in the U.S. and Cuba

Waters noted that 1998 marks the 25th anniversary of one of the most important victories of the working-class movement in the United States in the last 50 years: the victory for women's rights registered in the Supreme Court decision that decriminalized abortion. "This was not given — it was won in struggle," spearheaded by the women's rights movement. That movement, Waters noted, grew out of the sweeping changes in women's economic status that began as the U.S. prepared to enter World War II, as well as the changing consciousness and combativity of youth who responded to the mass struggle to bring down the Jim Crow system of segregation in the United States and the rising anti-imperialist struggles around the world, especially the Cuban revolution and the fight of the Vietnamese people. Yet as soon as abortion was legalized, that victory came under attack. "Today, in 1998, people are still being murdered in the United States because they defend women's right to choose," Waters noted.

"This graphically highlights the difference between the United States and Cuba," she said. "It shows why the Cuban revolu-

tion is an example for women in the United States and throughout the world who are fighting for equality and for a more just and human society."

"When we started marching for abortion rights at the end of the 1960s, women in Cuba had already won that right almost 10 years before," Waters noted. "Today women's right to decide is so completely established in Cuba that when the Pope visited that country earlier this year and talked about abortion as a crime, it literally had no impact."

In contrast, in the U.S. "the political and ideological offensive against women's rights is a constant. It is a deep part of the culture war that is waged by ultraright forces like Patrick Buchanan," Waters said. Women's right to choose "is never secure and never will be until we do in the United States what the Cuban people did 40 years ago in their revolution."

Before 1959, only a very small percentage of women in Cuba worked outside of the home — somewhere between 10 and 15 percent at most — and the majority worked as maids. More than half of peasant women were illiterate, Waters noted. Economically and socially, women in Cuba have gained as much ground in 40 years as it took women in the U.S. 150 years to cover. This was possible only because a socialist revolution eliminated the economic foundations of women's oppression, and, just as importantly, a revolutionary leadership consistently led and supported the efforts of women to carry out a fundamental transformation in their conditions of life, she said. In addition to the land reform Hormilla spoke of, this included a mass literacy campaign that educated hundreds of thousands of women, especially working-class and peasant women, many of whom learned to read and write over the objections of their husbands; schools for domestic workers, peasant women, and former prostitutes who were then able to become part of the broad labor force; and the establishment of the Federation of Cuban Women.

The course of the Cuban revolution in promoting the struggle for women's equality was "registered once again in the 1980s, during what was called the rectification process, as the Cuban leadership addressed some of the problems that had developed from copying many of the practices that had become institutionalized in the Soviet Union," Waters said. One of these problems was that the construction of child-care centers, which had been a priority in the early years of the revolution, had virtually come to a halt. This was turned around in the second half of the 1980s. While the pace of construction has greatly slowed due to lack of resources in the Special Period, "that policy has not been reversed."

The Cuban revolution shows us that socialist revolution is possible, and that women's liberation is possible, Waters said. "The rest is up to us."

Lam told the meeting that she is originally
Continued on Page 14

Albright: Clinton's adjustments to Cuba embargo 'don't reflect a shift in policy'

BY ERNIE MAILHOT
AND MAGGIE MCCRAW

MIAMI — U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright announced March 20 that the Clinton administration will again allow direct charter flights between the United States and Cuba for a few categories of people already allowed to travel to the Caribbean island under Washington's tight restrictions. These include emergency visits by Cuban-Americans to relatives in Cuba and trips by church and other groups to deliver food and medicine to nongovernment organizations.

When the Cuban government defended its sovereignty and shot down two planes flown into its airspace by rightists from the Miami-based group Brothers to the Rescue in 1996, the White House used it as a pretext to cut off direct flights. The U.S. Congress also used the action to pass the misnamed Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, also known as Helms-Burton. This U.S. law tightened and codified the U.S. embargo of Cuba.

Another measure to be contained in President William Clinton's executive order will allow Cuban-Americans to send up to \$1,200 a year directly to relatives in Cuba through licensed agencies. Such money transfers were declared illegal by the U.S. government in 1994. Nevertheless, it is estimated that annually some \$700 million in remittances from Cuban-Americans reach Cuba.

The administration also plans to streamline issuing licenses to U.S. pharmaceutical and medical equipment companies to sell their goods directly in Cuba, with the continued proviso that the medicine not be distributed by any state agency.

"Let me be very clear," Albright told the press. These measures "do not reflect a change in policy towards the Cuban government. That policy has been, and remains, to seek a peaceful transition to democracy." That is Washington's standard code phrase for the overturn of the Cuban revolution and capitulation of the Cuban people to the dictates of U.S. capital.

Albright said Clinton will also work with those in Congress pushing legislation to ease restrictions on food aid to Cuba. The aim of this, as with the other changes in the regulations, is to "lessen the Cuban people's dependence on the Cuban state," Albright said, by "strengthening the role of the church and other nongovernmental organizations."

The changes, which leave intact the U.S. ban on most travel to Cuba and Washington's economic blockade of the island, was referred to by Albright, one of the Clinton administration's point people in its attacks and threats against Cuba, as part of a so-called "new era of fresh thinking" and a positive response to the Pope's visit to Cuba in January.

The March 23 issue of the Cuban Communist Party newspaper *Granma*, noted in the subtitle to its article on the issue, "The

Secretary of State declares that this does not signify a change in the blockade nor in the operation of the Helms-Burton Law."

Most Cuban-Americans in Miami responded positively to the changes. Oscar Ochotorena, an activist in the Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community (ATC), referred to coverage on the Spanish-language TV Channel 23. The station "supports the blockade of Cuba," he said, "but they announced that their poll, with over 21,000 people calling in, had 68 percent in favor of Clinton's changes and 32 percent opposed. This is the first time they've ever had a poll that is positive towards anything related to Cuba. Even the *Nuevo Herald's* poll came out in favor."

Ultrarightists in the Cuban-American community here strongly opposed even these limited moves by Clinton. Ninosa Pérez-Castellón, a director of the Cuban American National Foundation and a radio talk show host, is typical of these reactionaries. She said that the administration's moves came from "a collusion of characters — fakes and opportunists who want to do business with Cuba." Even some of the callers to Pérez's show, however, defended the changes in travel and money transfer policies.

Ernie Mailhot is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1126. Maggie McCraw is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 368.

Caterpillar forced to rehire fired workers

Continued from front page

meetings many workers described as "rowdy," the majority of unionists responded angrily to the officialdom's attempt to sell the contract.

Cat backs down on illegally terminated

That offer called for bringing back only 110 of the 160 "illegally terminated," which was at the heart of why it was rejected. From the beginning, justice for the fired workers has been a central issue of the fight. Following the rejection of the offer, Caterpillar came back with a "modified" proposal agreeing to rehire all 160 union members fired during the labor battle. Except for the return of the discharged workers, the contract is exactly the same as the one that was previously rejected.

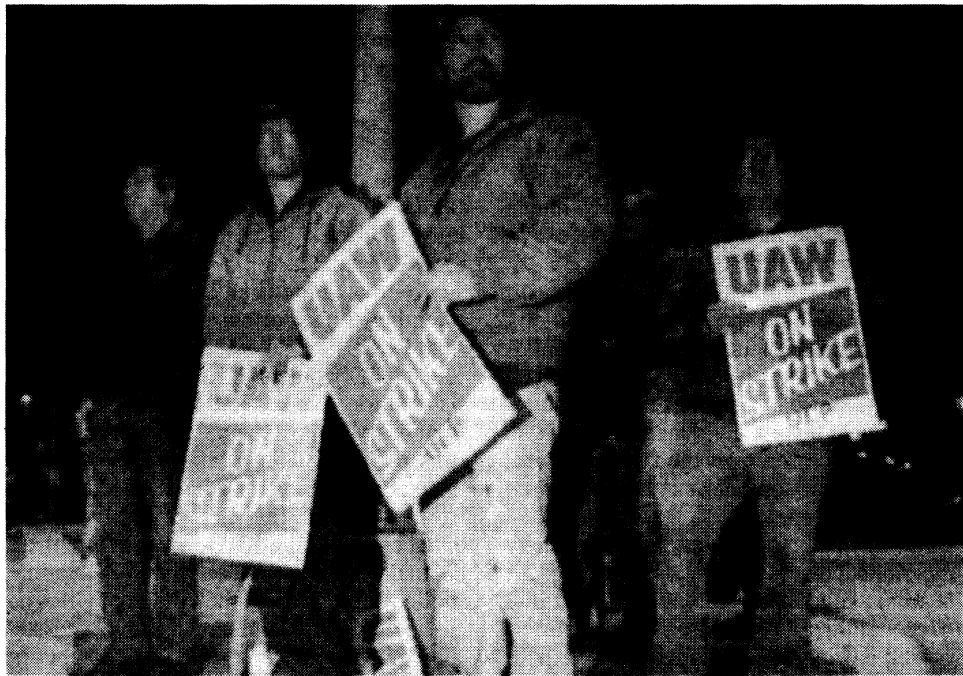
The fact that the company had been forced to back down from its earlier proposal, encouraged many workers to campaign for a "No" vote on this contract as well. Many saw getting the illegally terminated back working in the plants as a big setback to Caterpillar.

In York, a team of workers handed out a booklet calling for a "No" vote to each union member as they entered the UAW Local 786 union hall to vote. The team included fired workers, retirees, and workers who had been laid off from the manufacturing plant and called back at half pay in the distribution center there.

Terri Williams, laid off with 20 years in the plant, was one of these. She said she had been called back to the parts warehouse at a starting wage of \$8.50. "People ask me why did I go back, and I answer because I have a union to fight for my rights," she said.

Caterpillar announced in December of 1995 that the York manufacturing plant would be closing. According to UAW members, the workforce has been reduced from 1,500 to around 700 through layoffs, as plant equipment has been moved out to other facilities.

Since the contract was ratified, some fired workers have received letters notifying them of their return date. Tom Grier, a fired



Nearly 40 UAW members walked off the job at Caterpillar's engine plant in Mossville, Illinois, last November when the bosses refused to let a worker talk to a union steward after being forced to work overtime. Workers continue to resist company attacks.

worker and member of UAW Local 786 in York, said, "They want me to come in Monday [March 30], but they have us all coming back at different times. They don't want all 33 of us [who were fired] coming back in together."

UAW officials push contract

The most recent proposal was reached during a conference call between Caterpillar vice president Wayne Zimmerman, UAW International vice president Richard Shoemaker, and John Calhoun Wells, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Wells was the top government negotiator in the strike victory by Teamsters against UPS last fall.

"We believe that ratification of this agreement is in the best interests of all groups of workers — active, retired, discharged, and future workers," said Shoemaker, speaking at a March 17 press conference held at East

Peoria's UAW Local 974 union hall.

"Negotiating is the art of the possible, not the impossible. You have to know when there's nothing left to get," said Shoemaker, who urged all union members to vote for the contract. "The issue that has had priority in the hearts and minds of Caterpillar workers and their union was the reinstatement of struggle-related discharged workers."

For many Caterpillar workers, this statement was hard to swallow, since Shoemaker, along with the other union tops, supported the previous agreement.

"Our local told us last time that [the deal] was the best it was going to get," said George Cox, a member of UAW Local 974. Like others, Cox thought there was more to fight for.

In Decatur many workers were talking about Shoemaker's five minute appearance on WAND, a local TV station. The Decatur

local had voted down the previous pact by a 9-to-1 margin. At that meeting, union officials such as international UAW representative Jerry Brown, formerly the president of Local 974, were shouted off the stage as they tried to convince workers to vote for the proposal. "The international union decided Friday [March 20] to broadcast Shoemaker's Tuesday night [March 17] news conference in Decatur" the day before the vote, reported the *Decatur Herald and Review*. "The unusual move appeared to some an indication the international doesn't trust local leaders."

The paper also reported that Brown had accused Local 751 president Randy Morrell of "failing to sell the package" in Decatur.

Charlie Holt, who works at Caterpillar in Decatur and is a member of UAW 751, said workers were ready to keep fighting. "The well wasn't dry. Shoemaker's rope was too short," he said. Holt also noted, "Six years is too long for a contract, but we will stay strong despite that."

After the modified agreement was announced, some illegally terminated workers in East Peoria distributed a letter endorsing the new proposal, which was signed by 27 of the fired workers. There are 68 illegally terminated workers in the East Peoria local, the largest number from any local. One of them, Harold Churchill, said he campaigned to get a "Yes" vote. "The contract is bad, but I voted yes," said Churchill. "A 'Yes' vote is not a victory, but it is a start." This was echoed by others who felt now was the time to move ahead.

Many of the "blue shirts," a grouping that includes rank-and-file unionists, illegally terminated workers, and family members, continued to organize others to vote "No" in the plants and at plant gates.

Some tense encounters took place between those campaigning for "Yes" and "No" votes at the plant gates, including one that appeared on Channel 31, a local TV station. Tom Smith, a member of UAW Local 974, said about 5,000 leaflets were handed out arguing against the contract.

One of the handouts was entitled "Vote Yes Only if..." and contained a dozen or so statements underscoring opposition to the contract. One example was: "Vote Yes, only if ... You believe, 'Don't Ever Give Up,' 'One Day Longer,' and 'We are ... Union' was just cheerleading rhetoric."

UAW members also took out an ad in the *Peoria Journal Star* a few days before the vote. It said "Please Vote No. Keep Voting No 'Til We Get a Fair Contract."

"There's terrible things in there," said Jan Chance, the wife of UAW member J.R. Chance, who was among those terminated. "This is bad for labor in general."

The ratified agreement contains for the first time a two-tier wage agreement, allows Caterpillar to hire temporary workers with few benefits to comprise up to 15 percent of the workforce, includes "flex time" schedules that will result in cutting back overtime pay, and other concessions. Many of these provisions have become common in labor agreements today.

Caterpillar spokesman Zimmerman said the company had "achieved its goals," with management now able to "manage the plants as it sees fit."

"In a negotiation like this," said Zimmerman, "you never lay all your cards on the table on the first pass and you don't put any more cards on the table than you think you are going to need."

The return of the illegally terminated workers, however, is one card Caterpillar management was dead opposed to from the beginning. In fact, after the February 22 offer was rejected, Zimmerman said, according to the *Pekin Daily Times*, "the company won't likely budge from its offer to rehire 110 of the 160 terminated workers."

But Caterpillar management was forced to put this "card" on the table. The illegally terminated workers were some of the most vocal fighters in defense of workers' rights and in defending the union over the past several years.

"Things are not over with Cat," said J.R. Chance from UAW Local 974. In a phone interview, Chance said he just bought a new pair of steel-toed boots in preparation for his return to work. "Once we get back to work we'll see how things go. You don't just forget six and a half years of struggle."

John Staggs, a member of OCAW Local 8-86, contributed to this article reporting from York, Pennsylvania.

Paperworkers in British Columbia call for strike solidarity action

Continued from front page

ince is in its eighth month. The main issues in the fight are company demands for "job flexibility," 365-day operation, and pension concessions. "Full flexibility will give the company the right to assign anyone to any job regardless of seniority. You can't refuse. What's the point of having a union?" declared Munk. "Our fight is for all unions," the 18-year Fletcher Challenge veteran added.

"Miners at Westmin Mine in the area, who are organized by the Canadian Auto Workers, are giving two hours' wages per paycheck to the strike fund," said Local 630 member and striker Nevin Marsh. "They know that what happens here in the strike

will affect all unions." Marsh is an operator with five years experience. "This contract with the company is proposing is will mean loss of jobs," he said. "I'll probably be one of the first to get laid off."

"I think we would be more effective if we had industry-wide bargaining and went out on strike against all the paper companies across the province," said Munk. "The last contract before this one, we lost industry-wide bargaining, which took away our clout." There are 12,000 paperworkers across British Columbia. Fletcher Challenge is the target company. What is negotiated with Fletcher Challenge will set the pattern for all the companies.

The *Vancouver Sun* reported March 10

that Fletcher Challenge and three of its managers at the Crofton Mill have been charged with safety violations in connection with the October 1997 deaths of two supervisors. The company and its managers are accused of failing to inspect equipment and keep it in safe working condition, and with not ensuring the workers could do their jobs without "undue risk."

"This company violates safety procedures all the time. Flexibility will mean cutting corners on safety. I'm glad the company is being taken to court," commented Munk.

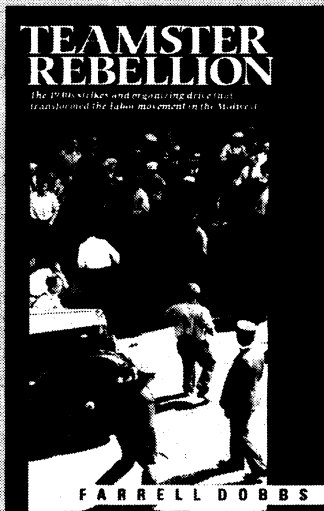
Ned Dmytryshyn is a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 764 in Vancouver.

AVAILABLE FROM PATHFINDER

The Teamster Series

Lessons from the labor battles of the 1930s

BY FARRELL DOBBS



Teamster Rebellion

The 1934 strikes that built an industrial union and a fighting social movement in Minneapolis, recounted by a central leader of that battle. The first in a four-volume series on the Teamster-led strikes and organizing drives in the Midwest that helped pave the way for the CIO and pointed a road toward independent labor political action. \$16.95

Teamster Bureaucracy

How the rank-and-file Teamsters leadership organized to oppose World War II, racism, and government efforts — backed by the international officialdom of the AFL, the CIO, and the Teamsters — to gag class-struggle-minded workers. \$18.95

Teamster Power

The growth and consolidation of the Teamsters union in Minneapolis and its class-struggle leadership, and the 11-state over-the-road organizing campaign that brought union power for the first time to many areas of the Midwest. \$17.95

Teamster Politics

How rank-and-file Teamsters led the fight against antiunion frame-ups and assaults by fascist goons; the battle for jobs for all; and efforts to advance independent labor political action. \$17.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Kosovo Albanians fight for national rights

Continued from front page

Jagxhiu, 22, a leader of the Independent Students Union, in a telephone interview from Pristina March 26.

"The proof will be in the pudding. We have reason to be skeptical. [Yugoslav president Slobodan] Milosevic has made many promises in the past but his regime has never kept its word," Jagxhiu said, referring to a similar agreement on education Belgrade signed in 1996 but never implemented.

In a sign that the Serbian regime may try to derail this accord, pro-Belgrade Serbs have staged large protests in Pristina demanding Albanians accept instruction only in Serbo-Croatian. And on March 24, the day after the education agreement was signed, Serbian police forces and paramilitary units launched another assault on villages in western Kosovo, near the border with Albania, with helicopters and artillery under the guise of fighting "terrorism." At least two Albanians were reported dead.

Washington and other imperialist powers are trying to take advantage of the explosive situation to deepen NATO intervention in the Balkans and tighten their encirclement of Russia. In doing so they are encountering stiffer opposition from Moscow.

At a March 25 meeting in Bonn of foreign ministers of the "Contact Group," U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright pushed for imposing an arms embargo and economic and other sanctions on Yugoslavia. Moscow, which has sold weaponry to Belgrade, opposed such measures. The Contact Group is made up of the governments of the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, and Russia and is charged with monitoring implementation of the Dayton accord. That was the treaty Washington forced the warring regimes in the formerly federated Yugoslavia to sign in 1995, paving the way for the partition of Bosnia and its occupation by NATO troops.

While failing to get backing for imposing new sanctions at the Bonn meeting, Washington did get a promise from the Russian government that Moscow would support a resolution for an arms embargo on Belgrade, which may be voted on by the United Nations Security Council March 31.

"I do not need to tell you that in the view of the United States, given Belgrade's recent actions, we would be justified in imposing even tougher sanctions," Albright stated at a news conference after the meeting. "We are moving gradually but unmistakably forward in the direction of greater pressure on Belgrade."

Popular mobilizations continue

Meanwhile, Albanians in Kosovo have continued their mass mobilizations demanding an end to the brutal repression by Belgrade and independence from Serbia. These actions include:

- A demonstration of more than 40,000 in Pristina March 18, organized by the Youth Forum of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), and smaller actions throughout Kosovo that day;
- A rally of 50,000 people in downtown Pristina March 19 organized by the Independent Students Union, followed by a "ringing protest" — with alarm clocks, bells, and beating on pots and pans to symbolize that time is up for the Serbian regime to begin negotiations for independence;
- An outpouring of 30,000 in the town of Pec March 19 for the funeral procession of Qerim Muriqi, 52, who was shot dead by a Serbian paramilitary unit on his way to the LDK Youth Forum-sponsored protest in town the previous day;
- A rally of 15,000 in the Dragodan neighborhood

of Pristina, mostly women, called by the Kosovo Women's Network and the Women's Forum of the LDK.

"Independence for Kosovo, a peaceful divorce from Serbia, is the only solution to guarantee lasting peace and stability in the region," said Edi Shukriu of the LDK Women's Forum at the March 25 women's rally in Pristina, according to the Kosovo Information Center.

"Serb police, out of Kosovo!" and "Drenica: we stand with you," were among the placards protesters held, along with photos of those killed in police sweeps since the end of February. Drenica is a mountainous region of 50 villages near Pristina where Serbian police forces waged assaults with heavy weaponry on February 28 and March 5, killing 85 people.

Echoing calls for military intervention by imperialist powers advanced by LDK leader Ibrahim Rugova and other pro-capitalist forces among Albanians, a handful of women carried signs saying, "NATO, help us." As *Militant* reporters found out during a visit to Kosovo March 11-15, many other working people and youth are opposed to or are at least skeptical of such views. "The U.S. and NATO have never been the friends of the Albanian people or anybody else fighting against national oppression," Jacup Zeneli said at a March 13 protest of 100,000 in Pristina. "We rely on ourselves to fight. We will find out who our friends are."

Rugova was re-elected president of the Independent Republic of Kosovo in a largely symbolic March 22 ballot, where Albanians also voted for a parliament. Similar elections had taken place in 1992, where Rugova was

first elected to the post and set up a parallel government to the one loyal to Belgrade. Kosovo — whose population of 2.1 million is 90 percent Albanian — had been declared an independent republic two years earlier by Albanian members of the region's parliament. As in the past, Belgrade denounced the elections as illegal. Serbian police have never allowed the Albanian parliament to convene a meeting.

Rugova, a literary critic who had been a member of the former governing Communist Party in Yugoslavia, was the only candidate for president of Kosovo. The Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), a guerrilla group that has been waging an armed struggle for independence for several years, issued a statement calling for a boycott of the elections "due to the exceptional circumstances... and the state of war in Drenica."

In the latest assault on March 24, Serbian police descended on the village of Gillogjan in the Drecan region of Kosovo near the border with Albania with helicopters and artillery, as well as three other nearby villages. By the end of the day, Gillogjan had been abandoned and 300 Albanian refugees had reached another town in the region. Claiming they were responding to a "terrorist" killing of a Serb cop, Belgrade's special forces shelled and burned several houses. Authorities said subsequently that one Serb policeman and two Albanians were killed in the raid. Other reports have put the death toll at more than four Albanians. The Kosovo Information Center reported that at least 11 Albanians had been arrested by the police in that area.

In an attempt to show popular support for

its policies and capture some of the moral high ground that fighting Albanians have clearly won over the last month, Belgrade has promoted a number of demonstrations by chauvinist Serbs in Pristina. The first such action of 2,000 took place March 18.

Protests by chauvinist Serbs

The second, and reportedly the largest, took place the next day to counter the "ringing protest" by the Independent Students Union. The *Financial Times* of London estimated it at 50,000. "That is definitely an exaggeration," said Lulëzon Jagxhiu, in the March 26 telephone interview. "The press around the world has also failed to report accurately that this was consciously organized by the government in Belgrade. Students and others were bussed in from Nis and other cities in Serbia, as well as from Kosovo, to give the impression of massive support for Belgrade."

Jagxhiu also reported that a number of Serbs tried to provoke Albanians protesters into a physical fight by driving a car into crowds of Albanians that day, injuring several people. "One of their aims with their counter protests is to provoke us into fist fights to justify further repressive measures," the student leader said.

Another sizable protest by chauvinist Serbs of about 30,000 took place March 23 to denounce the signing of the education agreement. Under this accord, Albanian students will reportedly return to state institutions in phases by June 30. The two sides did not agree on a joint teaching program, so Albanians and Serbs will be taught in

Continued on Page 14

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

GEORGIA

Atlanta

From Iraq to the Caspian Sea Region: U.S., NATO Moves Against the Russian Workers State. Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 4, 7 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. 803 Peachtree N.E. Donation: \$5. Dinner: \$5. Tel: (404) 724-9759.

FLORIDA

Miami

Opposing the Rise of U.S. Imperialism in World War II. Speaker: Tom Leonard, veteran leader of socialist movement. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. 137 N.E. 54th St. Donation: \$10 dinner and program. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Revolutionary Cuba Today and the Fight

Against U.S. Imperialism. Speaker: Joshua Carroll, a leader of the Young Socialists and reporter for the *Militant* newspaper, who recently visited Cuba. Fri., April 3, 7:30 p.m. 1103 E Carson St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (412) 381-9785.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Washington Prepares an Iron Noose for Russia: From Kosovo to Iraq to the Caspian Sea: The Opening of NATO's Southern Front in the Imperialist Drive To Restore Capitalism. Speaker: Maurice Williams, staff writer for the *Militant*, socialist newsweekly. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. Dinner: 6:30 p.m. 2490 University Ave. W. (At Hwy. 280). Donation: \$5. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

BRITAIN

Manchester

150 Years of the Communist Manifesto: The

Fight for Socialism Today. First Floor, 60 Shudehill. Fri., April 3, 7 p.m. Donation: £2. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

CANADA

Vancouver

Women in Cuba Today. Speaker: Colleen Levis, veteran activist in the fight for women's rights and has traveled to Cuba several times. Sun., April 5, 3 p.m. 3967 Main St. (Between 23rd and 24th Ave.) Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

Battle for Independence in Kosovo: All Imperialist Troops Out of Yugoslavia Now! Sat., April 4, 7 p.m. 199 High St. (corner High and Tuam). Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, *Nueva Internacional* and *Ny International*.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South Zip 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Compuserve: 73712,3561

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Compuserve: 74642,326 **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255, 285-5323. Compuserve: 75604,556

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 N.E. 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Compuserve: 103171,1674

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 803 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 724-9759. Compuserve: 104226,1245

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 1223 N. Milwaukee Ave. Zip: 60622. Tel: (773) 342-1780. Compuserve: 104077,511

IOWA: Des Moines: 2724 Douglas Ave. Zip: 50310. Tel: (515) 277-4600. Compuserve: 104107,1412

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772. Compuserve: 103426,3430

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Compuserve: 104127,3505 Tel: (313) 875-0100.

MINNESOTA: St. Paul: 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel: (612) 644-6325. Compuserve: 103014,3261

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 87A Halsey.

Mailing address: 909 Broad St., Suite 320. Zip: 07102. Tel: (973) 643-3341. Compuserve: 104216,2703

NEW YORK: New York City: 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Brooklyn, NY Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 399-7257. Compuserve: 102064,2642 ; 167 Charles St., Manhattan, NY. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 662-1931. **Cleveland:** 1832 Euclid. Zip: 44115. Tel: (216) 861-6150. Compuserve: 103253,1111

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8218. Compuserve: 104502,1757 **Pittsburgh:** 1103 E. Carson St. Zip 15203. Tel: (412) 381-9785. Compuserve: 103122,720

TEXAS: Houston: 6969 Gulf Freeway, Suite 380. Zip: 77087. Tel: (713) 847-0704. Compuserve: 102527,2271

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 1930 18th St. N.W. Suite #3 (Entrance on Florida Ave.) Zip: 20009. Tel: (202) 387-2185. Compuserve: 75407,3345.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755. Compuserve: 74461,2544.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills 2010. Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket Post Office, NSW 1240. Tel: 02-9281-3297. Compuserve: 106450,2216

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 0171-928-7993. Compuserve:

101515,2702

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 0161-839-1766. Compuserve: 106462,327

CANADA

Montreal: 4581 Saint-Denis. Postal code: H2J 2L4. Tel: (514) 284-7369. Compuserve: 104614,2606

Toronto: 851 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M3. Tel: (416) 533-4324. Compuserve: 103474,13

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343. Compuserve: 103430,1552

FRANCE

Paris: MBE 201, 208 rue de la Convention. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (1) 47-26-58-21. Compuserve: 73504,442

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: 552 5502. INTERNET: gphssg@treknet.is

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075. Compuserve: 100035,3205

Christchurch: 199 High St. Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055. Compuserve: 100250,1511

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. Compuserve: 100416,2362

CALENDAR

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Freedom Now Rally at the United Nations. Free Puerto Rican POWs and Political Prisoners. Sat., April 4, 12:30 to 6 p.m. *Ralph Bunche Plaza, 43 St. and 1 Ave.* For more information call: (212) 427-3874.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Commemorating the Arrest of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners of War. Feature speaker: Rafael Cancel Miranda, Puerto Rican independence fighter and former political prisoner. Thurs., April 2, 7:30 p.m. *Taller Puertorriqueño, 5th and Huntingdon.*

Paradox indeed — The Inter-American Development Bank warned that the Latin American privatization drive is swelling the profits of foreign investors, but not



Harry Ring

reducing unemployment. It warned that this "paradox" could create a political backlash. More than 57 percent of the Latin American la-

bor force are "informal" and "underemployed" workers.

The 'robust' economy — "More Americans filed for bankruptcy protection in 1997 than ever before. Federal officials said 1.35 million individuals and 54,000 businesses sought protection from creditors.... An overall total 20 % higher than 1996." — News item.

Big Macs the antidote? — Researchers said a study "suggests" that folks with a low cholesterol levels may be more violence-prone.

Oil, truth, and TV don't mix — Lloyd Bridges, the veteran actor

who died recently, starred for four years in "Sea Hunt," a popular TV underwater adventure series. Then he quit in a rift with the producers. "They wanted more cops and robbers," Bridges said, "I wanted to look at the real villains of the sea, like the oil companies."

Your friendly neighborhood bank — "Chase Manhattan Corp., the largest U.S. bank, said it will cut 4,500 jobs, or 6.5 percent of its staff, to reduce costs and invest in more profitable businesses." — News item.

More downsizing — The Queen of England may trim down the royal

family by limiting privileges and duties to senior family members. And, to give the monarchy a common touch, bowing and curtsying to the queen is now optional. "[She] does not expect it," a Palace source assured. Next, a dress-down day?

Frustrated — Last year's sales at LL Bean, the mail order biggie, busted the \$1 billion mark, an increase of 3 percent over the previous year. This was disappointing, a spokesperson said, because they had hoped for a 10 percent increase. Therefore, they won't give workers a bonus this year. Instead they'll dole out wage increases based on

"individual performance."

Their good deed — Each year in Britain, 20,000 Scouts are awarded scientist badges. For the next three years, the badges will feature the logo of the British Nuclear Fuels company which, in exchange will contribute \$48,000.

Join the Clip-It Club — If you hate capitalism and enjoy jabbing at it, how about sending news items for use in this column? Send to Great Society, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles CA. 90006. Fax: (213) 380-1268.

Lessons from 1965 catastrophe in Indonesia

Below we reprint excerpts from *The Catastrophe in Indonesia* — Three articles on the fatal consequences of Communist Party policy. This pamphlet was published in 1966, just months after the Indonesian army launched a bloodbath to wipe out the Communist Party, allegedly in retaliation for the assassination of six high-ranking officers. Between 500,000 and 1 million people were killed in the massacre. Gen. Suharto took power in this coup, gradually removing Sukarno, who had headed a nationalist movement for independence from Dutch colonialism and was the first president of an independent Indonesian republic. Sukarno had suspended parliament in 1960, and declared himself president for life in 1963. The se-

marily fired....

But our reaction in face of the fearsome terror unleashed on the Indonesian people cannot be limited to denouncing those responsible for the massacre and to demanding that the prisoners be freed (beginning with Njono, the president of the Indonesian trade unions, who has just been tried in Jakarta and given the death sentence) and the murderers given the punishment they deserve. We must also consider the cause of this terrible defeat which the international workers movement has suffered in Indonesia.... The first question that comes to mind is how a Communist party having 3,000,000 members and more than 10,000,000 sympathizers organized in all kinds of "mass organizations" (groupings of youth, of women and of peasants, as well as trade unions led by the PKI [Partai Komunis Indonesia]) could be crushed overnight, in October 1965, by an adversary that was certainly weaker in numbers.

The answer involves essentially two points: the reactionary enemy was able to utilize surprise; that is, *the masses were not systematically prepared for this inevitable confrontation with the reactionary army*. And the initiative was left to the reactionary enemy; that is, the PKI leadership did not utilize the innumerable mass actions during recent years to organize a systematic offensive aiming at the conquest of power by the working class and the poor peasants....

Without exception, the experience of half a century bears out the following: Either the freedom movement of the former colonial countries remains under the leadership of the indigenous possessing classes, or of petty-bourgeois groups unable to break resolutely with the capitalist economy — and in this case the fundamental tasks of the colonial revolution, above all the agrarian revolution, remain unsolved and the country is condemned to continue stagnating in misery and incessant social crisis; or the freedom movement is conquered by the working class in alliance with the poor peasants, the revolution is continued up to the expropriation of imperialism and the indigenous possessing classes, the agrarian reform is completely carried out — and in this case the bourgeois state must be replaced by a state based on the toiling masses, and construction of a socialist economy must be begun.

Wherever the leadership of the revolution has remained in the hands of "national fronts," directed in actuality by the "national" bourgeoisie or by petty-bourgeois groups, there has been no radical agrarian revolution, the state has fundamentally remained a bourgeois state, and the reaction was able to break the front at any moment and unleash a ferocious repression against the workers. Wherever the revolution has come under a proletarian leadership basing itself on the poor peasantry, it proved necessary to destroy the bourgeois state and create an entirely new state if only to carry out a genuinely radical agrarian reform (China, Vietnam, Cuba).

The leaders of the PKI did not assimilate these lessons of history. Deeply affected by the "putschist" and "adventurist" errors committed by their predecessors — the PKI leaders of the period of the "Madiun incidents" of 1948² — they wished at any cost to "stick with" the Sukarno group representing the national bourgeoisie. Consequently they followed the policy of a "united national front." They accepted Sukarno's partial suspension of democratic freedoms at the beginning of the sixties. They joined the NASAKOM (national front composed of the



Remains of Communist Party headquarters in Jakarta after massacre in October 1965

Sukarno nationalists, the Muslim grouping — a reactionary formation that has been in the vanguard of the anti-Communist terror since October 1965 — and the PKI). They joined a coalition government which included in particular the ultrareactionary head of the army.

Their political line for the past five years has been defense of this national front formula and not propaganda for a workers and peasants government. They did not stand for the conquest of power by the masses but for

the slow conquest of state power "from within."

¹ The Tricontinental Conference of Solidarity of Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America was held in January 1966 in Havana, Cuba, and attended by anti-imperialist fighters from around the world.

² The Madiun Affair was a failed uprising attempt against the Indonesian government by the PKI in 1948.

BOOK OF THE WEEK

lection below is from the article "Lessons of the Defeat in Indonesia." Copyright © 1966 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted with permission.

BY ERNEST MANDEL

The international workers movement, the colonial revolution, have suffered a terrible defeat in Indonesia. Since October 1965, thousands of militants belonging to the Communist party and other left groupings have been murdered in a veritable white terror. This sweeping massacre has met with hardly a word of disapproval in the Western press, so "humanist" and so sensitive when it comes to defending the "sanctity of the human being" when a victorious revolution eliminates butchers who have committed unspeakable crimes, as occurred at the time of the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959.

But innumerable victims have fallen in the wave of terror that has swept Indonesia. Sukarno himself has officially admitted 87,000 dead. At the Tricontinental Conference Fidel Castro spoke of 100,000 dead.¹ Western observers in Indonesia have put the figure at 120,000 to 125,000 murdered workers and militants, and certain sources even speak of 150,000 to 200,000 dead.

Journalists of conservative right-wing newspapers like the special correspondents of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the London *Sunday Times* and the Basel *National-Zeitung* have given detailed descriptions of the terror in certain parts of the country. The report of the special correspondent of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on the events of Bali, the island formerly considered to be a Communist fortress, is terrifying. He tells about bodies lying along the roads, or heaped in pits, of half-burned villages in which the peasants dare not leave the shells of their huts. There is likewise a nightmarish account of the hysterical fear that has caught up large numbers, so that people suspected of being Communists have killed their alleged comrades with their own hands in order to show the ferocious army men that "they were not Communists."

In addition to the dead, there are innumerable other victims of the repression. The figure has been given of 250,000 militants or sympathizers of the extreme left in prison. At the beginning of October 1965, certain trade unions tried to react timidly against the counterrevolutionary wave of terror. Every worker who went out on strike was sum-

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

25 CENTS
THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

April 6, 1973

PARIS, March 23 — Tens of thousands of lycée (academic high schools) and university students took to the streets yesterday to demand an end to the recently imposed Debré Law. The law, named after Defense Minister Michel Debré, would eliminate draft deferments and require all youth to complete 12 months of military service by the age of 21.

Students felt that this law was designed to discourage students from starting or continuing lycée and university studies. This is the government's only answer to the growing inability of university graduates to find work in their fields. Students also feel the law would be used to intimidate political activists. The Debré Law is the primary target of the student strikes that have erupted across the country in the past two weeks.

The minister of education issued a statement last night admitting that the absentee rate nationally was at 75 percent in the secondary schools. Yesterday's demonstration was illegal, giving the police a pretext for attacking and arresting demonstrators. Ever since the 1968 general strike — which was sparked by a student struggle — almost all demonstrations have been refused a permit.

Despite the ban, estimates of the size of the demonstration ranged from 30,000 to 100,000. It is difficult to estimate the size because of police attempts to disperse the demonstrators. Decisions on the assembly points and other logistics were made at student general assemblies, consisting of rep-

resentatives of "struggle committees" in more than 100 Paris schools.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

April 5, 1948

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn., March 31 — With picket lines solid, members of the CIO Packinghouse Workers have successfully blocked every attempt of company officials in the South St. Paul area to break the 2-week-old meat packing strike. The union, representing workers at Armour, Swift, and Cudahy have turned a series of company maneuvers into an attack on the anti-union program of the big meat packers. A motor brigade of office employees was turned back at the Armour plant yesterday when 200 pickets held their ground.

Although pickets were ordered to move off railroad property a picket sign extended by a cane fishing pole over the railroad tracks was being honored by engine crew on a strike bound switch engine in the Armour yard.

Engine crews have been reporting for each shift, sitting in the car, and leaving at the end of their eight hours. The engine has been tied up since the first day of the strike, when company officials attempted to haul some cars of meat from the plant.

In a series of daily radio broadcasts over station WMIN, entitled "On the Picket Line," CIO representatives are presenting the union's program in the strike. Milton Siegel, UPWA Field Representative in District 2, pointed out that it is the packinghouse workers who, under dangerous and unhealthy conditions, supply the nation with meat.

Cat workers set fighting example

The United Auto Workers members at Caterpillar have won a moral victory for the entire labor movement by forcing the bosses to do what they said they would never do: rehire all 160 "illegally terminated" workers. The unionists at Cat now go back to work stronger. They have set an important example for all labor, proving it's worth it to fight.

This is the opposite lesson from what the bosses had hoped to drive home. Over the last six and a half years, spokespeople for the employing class have periodically announced the defeat of the Caterpillar workers and their union.

But these fighters have proven them wrong every time. In voting down the company's February contract offer, they stunned the bosses, finally forcing them to give in on the union demand to reinstate all those fired in the course of their struggle.

Signing a contract won't end the conflict between the auto workers and the manufacturing giant, but the unionists are more seasoned now, having weathered many battles in recent years. After walking out to protest Caterpillar's unfair labor practices, including the firing of a number of union militants, the workers maintained strong picket lines for 17 months. Instructed by the union officialdom to return to work in late 1995, they shifted the battle to the shop floor. All kinds of skirmishes have taken place in the two years since, over everything from work rules to the company's attempts to ban union T-shirts and buttons. These and other questions will continue to be fought out, as the company keeps prodding, trying to make militant workers pay a price for standing up and fighting. These skirmishes will now take place with the benefit of UAW

members having won back the jobs of some of the staunchest fighters.

The fightback mood and resulting gains of the Caterpillar workers are part of something bigger — a shift happening in U.S. politics. They are an important component of the broader working-class resistance that has grown over the last year, as the long retreat of labor movement has leveled off.

Other employers are driving to impose the same kinds of conditions Caterpillar sought — two- and three-tier wages that allow them to pay new workers less, "flexible" work schemes aimed at undermining overtime and seniority provisions, cuts in pensions and medical care, and other takebacks through which the bosses hope to shore up their declining profit rates and compete with rival capitalists.

Workers at other companies are looking for ways to fight. Many of them see the Caterpillar workers as an example. Among them are workers preparing for a possible strike at Case Corp. plants in Iowa and Illinois. Dozens of these unionists have bought the *Militant* in recent weeks, showing particular interest in its coverage of the fight at Caterpillar as well as working-class resistance internationally, from Kosovo to Indonesia.

One of the most important things for fighting workers at Caterpillar to do now, as they defend their rights on the shop floor, is to take their experiences beyond their workplaces and join up with other working-class fights that are breaking out in the broader class war today. Likewise, other union fighters will gain much by seeking out the veterans at Cat and inviting them to join in as they stand up to the employing class, our common enemy.

Polarization grows in Kosovo

Continued from Page 12

separate shifts in their own languages with different curricula. Serb students denounced the accord as a "betrayal" of the Serbs in Kosovo and demanded Albanians be taught only in Serbo-Croatian. Radivoje Papovic, the university's dean, notorious for his extreme Serbian nationalism, said, "The Albanians should understand that they have to live with us. We don't have to live with them."

Jagxhiu drew a parallel between these reactionary demonstrations and the counterprotests organized by Belgrade in early 1997 in the middle of daily demonstrations that forced the Milosevic regime to withdraw cancellation of election results in November 1996. During that ballot, the now defunct opposition coalition Zajedno won majorities in municipal elections in 15 of Serbia's 19 largest cities.

"The Milosevic regime didn't succeed in derailing the protests for democratic rights by hundreds of thousands of students and other people in Serbia then," Jagxhiu said. "It's unlikely they'll succeed in stopping the popular demonstrations by Albanians in Kosovo now."

Most Serbs in Kosovo, who have privileges in housing and jobs that are denied to the Albanian population, support Belgrade. But a few have joined protests by Albanians there. And a number of students from the University of Belgrade and elsewhere have traveled to Pristina to join actions showing their support for the struggle for self-determination.

It is these fighting Albanian workers and youth, and their potential to forge alliances in struggle with fellow working people elsewhere in Yugoslavia, who are the biggest obstacle to the designs of Washington and other capitalist powers to restore capitalist social relations in Yugoslavia and tighten the imperialist encirclement of the workers state in Russia.

"American diplomacy seems to be imbued with the fear that the Kosovo crisis will evolve into a 'Balkan intifada,'" said an article in the March 22 *Vima*, one of the main dailies published in Athens, Greece. *Intifada* is the term describing the rebellion by Palestinians inside the occupied territories of West Bank and Gaza in the 1980s against Zionist rule and for a homeland. The article pointed to the insistence by Washington and other imperialist powers to oppose independence for Kosovo as they back calls by Rugova for sanctions against Serbia and for possible expansion of NATO intervention into the region.

Washington maintains 8,000 troops leading a 30,000-strong NATO occupation force in Bosnia. It has made clear recently it intends to keep U.S. troops in Macedonia even if a United Nations "peacekeeping force" of 1,000 is ended. During a recent visit to the Balkans, U.S. undersecretary of state Strobe Talbott also unveiled an "action plan for southeast Europe" that includes the creation of a NATO rapid deployment force that would be based in Macedonia. Romania, Slovenia, and Bulgaria are likely candidates as well. The purpose is to create a "security ring" around Yugoslavia.

Within NATO there are tactical differences on strategy in the Balkans between Washington and Paris and Bonn. Within the Contact Group, only London supports fully the U.S. proposals for an arms embargo and new economic sanctions on Yugoslavia. During a March 19 joint visit to Belgrade by the foreign ministers of France and Germany, the two government officials said they were satisfied with concessions Milosevic offered and would not push for new sanctions immediately. "The demands we made have, generally speaking, been met," said German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel.

Washington's designs on the Balkans, along with NATO's expansion in Eastern Europe, have sparked growing opposition from Moscow. Russian foreign minister Yevgeny Primakov had campaigned against the arms embargo on Yugoslavia prior to the Bonn meeting of the Contact Group, even though he half-heartedly promised at the end to support such a resolution at the United Nations. The Contact Group agreed to meet within four weeks to reconsider punitive measures against Belgrade.

Macedonia

Continued from Page 8

there. It has recently pledged U.S. troops will stay in Macedonia, even if the UN force withdraws. This is part of Washington's strategy for the last half decade of building a military "ring" around Yugoslavia.

Reliance on Washington to support the fight for national rights of Albanians finds an echo among many middle-class layers and others they influence. "In the context of the Balkan situation, the United States could be the only factor to save people from the atrocities of the Serbian regime and provide a measure of stability in Macedonia," said Qumal Marate, a professor at the University of Tetovo.

Imperialist powers and their hangers-on in Skopje and elsewhere in this republic, however, face a confident and fighting Albanian people and many Macedonians who do not want to be under the thumb of imperialism.

In a discussion with student leaders at the University of Tetovo, several said they distrust the U.S. government and NATO. According to Arburim Iseni, this stems in part from the Dayton accord — the pact Washington forced the warring regimes in former Yugoslavia to sign in 1995, setting the stage for the partition of Bosnia and its occupation by NATO troops. "Under Dayton, the U.S. legitimized the Milosevic regime and the repression it carries out against Albanians," Iseni said. "If the interests of the West are to find a peaceful solution, then that would be good. But this problem cannot be solved peacefully. First and foremost, we Albanians must stand up and fight for our rights."

"Rugova's policy of waiting must end," said Hiureme Gura, referring to Democratic League of Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova. "I don't have faith in the so-called international community. Every foreign power has their own interests in mind. We can only trust our own forces."

Several people interviewed said they identified with the Kosovo Liberation Army and saw armed struggle as the only way for Albanians in Kosovo to win self-determination.

Some student leaders described their distrust of Washington as dovetailing with their misgivings about the leaderships of the main political parties among Albanians, in Macedonia and Kosovo. They said these leaderships do not champion an uncompromising struggle for the national rights of the Albanian people. Isamet Bakiu, for example, said, "Rugova has talked about a 'peaceful solution' to the crisis in Kosovo for a decade. We are tired of 'peaceful solutions' that never happen. We only win our rights when we fight for them."

Among Macedonians, those who oppose the nationalism of the Gligorov regime and support ending discrimination against Albanians include many who also oppose the breakup of Yugoslavia. "We don't pay attention to their borders," said Natasha Todorovska, who works for the state radio in Skopje and volunteers at the Human Rights Center there. "We continue to travel to Kosovo, Serbia, Croatia, even though these regimes have made it more difficult. I am a Yugoslav. I feel like belonging to that side of history. And the fight to end discrimination against Albanians is part of that."

Natasha Terlexis, a member of the Foreign Airlines Workers Union in Athens, Greece, contributed to this article.

Quebec

Continued from Page 16

supposedly over consideration of protocol but above all to prevent the waving of the Quebec flag in the House of Commons.

In her visit to Ottawa on March 10 to firm up the Canadian government's support for Washington's war preparations in the Middle East and military intervention against the oppressed Albanians in Kosovo, U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright, while stating that Washington does not intend to "interfere" in Canada's internal affairs, said that Washington cherishes relations with a "strong and united Canada." Albright praised Canada as a bilingual parliamentary democracy dedicated to "solidarity and the rule of law," an implied reference to Ottawa's position that Quebec cannot legally declare its own independence.

The turmoil around Johnson's resignation and the likelihood that Charest will leave the federal Conservatives to lead the Quebec Liberals continues the trend towards the fragmentation of capitalist politics registered in the 1993 federal elections.

At that time, the governing Conservative Party was defeated by the Liberals and reduced to two seats, while the Bloc Quebecois, based only in Quebec, became the Official Opposition, with the western-based Reform Party only a few seats behind. The Social Democratic union-based New Democratic Party was also reduced to a handful of MPs. In the 1996 federal election following the last Quebec sovereignty referendum, Canada's capitalist rulers were left without one genuinely national party with a base both inside and outside of Quebec.

Counting on Charest to make the decision to quit as federal Conservative Party leader to lead the Quebec Liberals, the Reform Party has intensified its campaign for a merger between Reform and the Conservatives. Alberta Premier Ralph Klein is being posed as a possible leader of a new right-wing party.

John Steele is a member of the International Association of Machinists in Toronto.

Women in Cuba

Continued from Page 10

from Ecuador, where, she said, "you feel that a woman is part of the downside of society, nobody cares about women. It's very rare to see a young woman going to a protest. You don't see women looking at the newspapers there, saying, 'Wow, I'm going to fight for my rights,'" she said. "I'm here to learn more about women in Cuba," Lam said. "I think the Cuban woman is a very good example. We have to keep on struggling. That's our right and our duty."

In the discussion, Hormilla explained that the question of jobs is one of the most pressing in Cuba. She explained that one of the topics discussed at a recent leadership gathering of the Federation of Cuban Women was how to increase opportunities for women in industrial jobs. Most women work in the service sector, education, health, administration, and as technicians, while fewer work in industry or agriculture, she said.

In the countryside, she said, "the sugar mills need engineers, but they also need workers. It's a complex situation, because young people naturally have aspirations which they've gained through the revolution." Women who do work in industry, are primarily in light industry, she added, not heavier work, which is better paid. "The problem of employment will be solved to the degree the economy is reactivated, and the numbers show the economy is coming forward," Hormilla added.

Another person asked about the role of women in the Cuban military. There are some women's units in the regular army, Hormilla said, but it is a small percentage. Every woman in Cuba, however, "receives military training in various forms — through the Committees for Defense of the Revolution and the Territorial Troop Militias, which are volunteer units to arm the population and defend the country. 'The revolution exists today because it is militarily defended,' the Cuban diplomat said, 'And when it's needed, there will be 3 million women soldiers' ready to fight for it."

Rose Ana Berbeo is a member of the International Association of Machinists.

Machinists in Minnesota stop work for 40 hours

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace, or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

EDEN PRAIRIE, Minnesota — Some 320 workers at the Eaton Corp. here conducted a 40-hour work stoppage March 1-2 as part of a fight for a new contract. Union stewards at the plant later argued

and believed they were carrying out that decision.

Three days after the first strike vote, the company submitted another contract offer with a slight increase in wages and another vote to strike failed to garner the necessary two-thirds margin, with 57 percent voting in favor.

Workers at the Eaton factory in Eden Prairie make hydraulic motors and hydraulic steering units that are used in farm implements and earth moving equipment. The biggest customers of the company are John Deere, Caterpillar, and J. R. Case companies. IAM members here gave significant concessions on wages and medical co-payments in the mid-1980s.

The main issues in the current dispute were pensions, medical in-

than the company's offer of hourly wage increases of 3 percent, 3.5 percent, and 4 percent at the start of each of the three years of the contract. Union members were very suspicious of the company's proposal to substitute the current medical insurance plan, which is basically the same for all the members, with a "flexible benefits package" that would allow some members to pay less for an inferior medical plan.

The company's first offer proposed to raise retirement pay to \$34 per month per year of service by the start of the third year. Despite this, union members voted to strike. Just before the work stoppage began, however, the company offered per hour wage increases of 4 percent for each of the three years of the contract and specified a cap of 10 percent per year on increase on medical insurance co-payments.

An additional fact about the new contract that many workers objected to was that it codified an increased pay differential for certain job categories. A year ago the company voluntarily raised wage rates for mechanics by \$2.30 an hour and for tool makers by \$1.50 per hour. This was folded into the new contract, but the other job categories did not get an equivalent increase.

Machinists at the Eaton factory have differing opinions on what had been accomplished and whether they showed the company that they could put up resistance. A frequent sentiment of those who voted to strike was voiced by Dan Zimmerman, a grinder operator with 27 years of experience at the company. "We didn't accomplish anything. By this I mean that if we had continued to strike a week or two we could have got substantially more. Then we would have really sent a message to the company."

Florida sugar strike stops some concessions

CLEWISTON, Florida — Members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 57 voted February 25 to ratify a new three-year contract with U.S. Sugar Corp. and to return to work, ending a week-long strike.

Two-thirds of the 660 workers who voted accepted the union leadership's recommendation to end the work stoppage. The local organizes around 900 sugar workers. The strike occurred during the harvest season with 1.7 million tons of sugar remaining to be harvested and processed.

The sugar workers went out after rejecting the company's demands of continuing a two-tier wage



Militant/Eric Simpson

Striking IAM members picket U.S. Sugar in Clewiston, Florida, in February 1998.

scale first instituted in 1995, cutting pay for travel time for heavy equipment operators, and slashing overtime pay. (See article in March 9 *Militant*.) U.S. Sugar is the largest producer of raw cane sugar in the United States.

The strikers maintained round-the-clock picket lines at both the Clewiston and Bryant manufacturing facilities. Two days before the settlement the company started to bring scabs into the plants. When picketers verbally took issue with this, company security guards backed by Lee County sheriff's deputies began harassing the union members.

According to press reports, the union was able to keep the provision of 16 hours per week of guaranteed overtime for the 90 mechanics, as well as payment for travel time for heavy equipment operators who drive harvesting machinery from the plants to the cane fields. The union also won improvements in wages and health benefits.

The contract still includes the two-tier wage scale from 1995. Besides allowing the company to pay new-hires up to 27 percent less than full scale, future wage increases are tied to the price of sugar.

The March 9 *Militant* article on the U.S. Sugar strike stated that "the harvesting is done by nonunion agricultural workers, most of whom are immigrants."

Subsequent visits to the sugar cane region in Florida helped clarify this point. Since the 1995-1996 crop, all of Florida's sugarcane harvesting is done mechanically, with workers operating large combine harvesters and other heavy equipment. Previously, cane cutters from the Caribbean were hired to manually do the job. Agricultural workers are still hired for planting and other tasks.

At U.S. Sugar's Bryant mill in nearby Pahokee, agricultural workers are union, while those employed by the Clewiston mill are not.

California janitors march for right to organize

SAN JOSE, California — "We walked 150 miles from Sacramento to Cupertino to try and talk with Hewlett-Packard," said Ron Rodgers, but "they did not want to deal with it." Rodgers, a janitor in

Oakland and steward in Local 1877 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), was part of 10-day "Pilgrimage for Justice" march from Sacramento to demand union recognition for SEIU janitors at Somers Building Maintenance. The marchers went to De Anza College in the San Jose suburb of Cupertino, where the Hewlett-Packard stockholders were holding their annual meeting.

At a February 24 rally celebrating the completion of the march, more than 100 unionists and their supporters, who filled the United Food and Commercial Workers union hall, heard SEIU janitor Hilda Avila explain what happened.

After introducing herself as a Somers janitor who'd marched 150 miles to talk with them, the chairperson "cut her off, saying they had to discuss company business."

She later talked with Lou Pratt, chief executive officer of the company, who told her that he was happy with Somers and that he couldn't do anything in a matter that only concerned Somers and the union.

The workers had gone to Hewlett-Packard, Rodgers told the *Militant*, because Somers cleans over half of Hewlett-Packard's facilities here and elsewhere in California. Janitors have won an SEIU contract with Somers in San Jose, Rodgers explained, but "they don't have the right to organize in Sacramento. It has been a three-year struggle with Somers."

Workers there have no medical insurance, and pay is as low as \$6 per hour.

Among the 32 marchers were Somers workers and other union janitors from Oakland, Los Angeles, and Sacramento. The march scored a victory, Avila said, because Pratt was compelled to talk to the union. Rodgers said that more had been accomplished. The marchers "are all just like one" now, he said. "We're not giving up. We have to stop this thing at Somers."

Tom Fiske, member of IAM Local 1037 in Eden Prairie, Minnesota; Bill Kalman, member of United Transportation Union Local 1138 in Miami; and Jim Altenberg, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-5 in San Francisco, contributed to this column.

ON THE PICKET LINE

that it was not a strike, since a new contract offer was on the table. However, workers at the plant, members of the International Association of Machinists Local 1037, had just voted on February 27 by a 73 percent margin to go on strike

insurance, and wages. The big majority of union members felt that after years of high profits the company could afford to give more than the current \$24 per month per year of service in pension benefits. Members of the local also wanted more

School officials attack free speech in Florida

BY SHIRLEY PEÑA AND MAGGIE MCCRAW

MIAMI — Because they published and distributed a 20-page pamphlet called *First Amendment*, nine Killian High School students were arrested, jailed overnight, threatened with "hate crime" charges, suspended for ten days and eventually expelled from Killian.

The pamphlet was a response to the get-tough administration of Killian principal, Timothy Dawson and on-going tensions between students and campus security guards.

Dawson, who is Black, had the "Killian Nine" arrested on February 23 for "hate crimes" because of the pamphlet's allegedly racist references to Blacks, Latinos, and immigrants.

He also claimed the pamphlet constituted a death threat against him. The cover shows Dawson's face superimposed on a dartboard with a dart through his forehead and inside one student daydreams about shooting a number of people he or she dislikes, including Dawson, some teachers, cheerleaders, freshmen, sports players, and others.

On February 27, State Attorney General Katherine Fernández Rundle announced that she would not press criminal charges but she noted that "probable cause did exist for school authorities to believe a crime had occurred."

The content of the pamphlet has sparked considerable debate. The *Miami Herald* characterized *First Amendment* as "obscenity-laced" and containing "enough racial slurs to cause concern."

First Amendment includes an antiwar drawing and slogan, poetry, one crude sexual cartoon involving Dawson, short paragraphs criticizing the "arrogant air" of teachers and classes that are "brainwashing, biased nonsense," overcrowding and other problems. Particular objects of derision are school security guards who are shown sexually harassing and propositioning female students. Many students said the pamphlet's "satire" was "necessary" in order to draw attention to the worsening conditions at Killian.

David Morales, one of the "Killian Nine" said "There was no

racist intent in it.... All nine of us are completely against racism."

Louis Macías, a 15-year-old sophomore said "it's not wrong what they wrote" but he thought the expulsions were justified because of the pamphlet's "racial slurs."

Maria Giacchino, a 17-year-old junior, said "most kids think the same as I do, they support the *First Amendment*. I read it over and over and it's not racist."

Kerline Astre, a 17-year old student at Edison High School, said that she was "totally against" the way the Killian students presented their grievances, but she added "I think people need to address why [the pamphlet was produced]."

Bert Pages, a Killian sophomore, wrote in the *Miami Herald*, wrote, "The security staff often exhibits prison guard mentality, which causes more conflict and problems. Security personnel confront students routinely for minor violations, escalating minor infractions."

While the school district did not press criminal prosecution, they did charge the students with a variety of "conduct" offenses including use of "provocative language" and "not conforming to school standards" to lay the basis for the expulsions.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is providing legal representation to seven of the students, challenging their expulsion.

Shirley Peña and Maggie McCraw are members of International Association of Machinists Local 368.

—LETTERS—

Antidote to capitalist press

Please continue making your antidote to the bourgeois press as strong as possible. The reactionary germs are not dead yet.

R.P.

Croton, New York

Enjoy reading paper

I really enjoy reading your newspaper because it has plenty of information to offer. I would like to know how I would be able to obtain back issues, as well as start my own subscription to the *Militant*

newspaper? If you have any free back issues, would you please forward them?

A prisoner

Dallas, Pennsylvania

From bowels of America

Fervent revolutionary greetings from the bowels of Amerikkka. My reason for writing to you comrades at this time is because myself and the other POWs here with me are without access to any alternative press, and we were wondering can you give us a free subscription to

your news organ. Myself and the other POWs here will immensely appreciate your serious consideration in this matter. Build to win.

A prisoner

Florence, Colorado

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

PRISONER SUBSCRIPTION FUND

The *Militant* offers reduced subscription rates to workers and farmers behind bars. A six-month subscription to the *Militant* costs \$6, and one year costs \$12. We send a free sample copy on request. Contributions make these special rates possible for those who cannot afford regular rates. Please send your donation to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Struggle for Quebec independence deepens crisis for Canadian rulers

BY MICHEL DUMAS
AND JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL — Daniel Johnson, the leader of the Quebec Liberal Party (QLP), had not even finished explaining his resignation on March 2 before capitalist politicians and the media from one end of the country to the other were campaigning to draft the federal Conservative Party leader, Jean Charest, as his replacement. Charest is currently the only politician considered for the job. No leader of the QLP is running.

The purpose of this "Draft Charest" effort is to rebuild the QLP into a credible alternative to defeat the bourgeois nationalist Parti Quebecois in the coming Quebec elections. The PQ, if reelected, is committed to calling the third Quebec sovereignty referendum since 1980.

In a March 10 editorial underlining that with a Liberal Party victory in the next Que-

bec election "there will be no referendum on separation," the nationally-circulated English-language *Globe and Mail* speculated that with a few concessions to Quebec from the rest of the country, "the independence movement would be dealt a crushing blow."

Charest "is a man who galvanized the federal camp in the 1995 Quebec referendum by holding up his Canadian passport and asking people to reflect on its value," declared the *Toronto Star* editors on March 3. "It will take that kind of energy and style to defeat [Quebec PQ premier Lucien] Bouchard....Johnson's exit gives his successor a better shot at winning the premiership — and avoiding another referendum."

The ruling class campaign behind Charest, holding him up as the only politician that can save Canada from the "separatists," reflects the inability of the domi-

nant sector of the Canadian ruling class and their representatives in Ottawa to push back the Quebecois struggle for their national rights.

Quebecois struggle for national rights

In 1995, the "Yes" to Quebec sovereignty side lost by only 1.2 percentage points and for the first time in history a clear majority of the oppressed Quebecois nation voted for a sovereign country. During the referendum campaign thousands of Quebecois youth took to the streets throughout Quebec chanting "we want a country."

The resistance of the 6 million Quebecois to their national oppression — based on their language, French — has been a fault line of instability in the Canadian federal state since its formation in 1867. Today, this resistance is one of the main obstacles facing Canada's capitalist rulers, in their austerity drive against working people across

the country. The Quebecois struggle for justice and equality also hampers their efforts to draw in working people behind the Canadian flag to advance Ottawa's imperialist interests against its competitors on the world market, including the use of its troops under United Nations or NATO cover in the Middle East, Bosnia, and Kosovo.

This resistance is also the source of divisions among capitalist rulers.

In the weeks before his resignation, the tactical divisions among federalist politicians over how hard to drive against Quebec were reflected in the opposition by both Charest and Johnson to the initiative by the federal government, led by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, to ask the Supreme Court of Canada to declare illegal any "unilateral" action on Quebec sovereignty by the Parti Quebecois government.

Ottawa suffered a setback when it met outrage and condemnation throughout Quebec in opposition to its Supreme Court maneuver. One thousand Quebecois and their supporters demonstrated in Ottawa in front of the Supreme Court, and 4,000 turned out to a PQ rally in Montreal to defend Quebec's right to decide its future without Ottawa's interference.

Johnson resigned a few days after the federal Liberal Party announced its intention to participate directly in the next Quebec provincial election over his head. On March 11, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien threw his endorsement behind the "draft Charest" campaign. "I welcome the best candidate, yes. If he wanted to run, I think it would be a good thing. Besides, everybody says so," said Chrétien.

Anti-Quebecois flag waving

In recent weeks Ottawa has taken further steps against Quebec. A centerpiece of the federal budget placed before parliament at the end of February was a direct attack on Quebec's historical right to control its education system. The government presented a Millennium Scholarship Fund in February that overrides Quebec's student scholarship and loan system. The fund "is being set up, not so much to help students but to satisfy the federal government's need for 'visibility' — which is Ottawa-talk for sending a cheque with a big red maple leaf on it," wrote *Globe and Mail* Quebec columnist Michel Auger.

Ottawa's sharpening attacks against Quebec reflect the general shift of capitalist politics to the right as Canada's ruling capitalist families attempt to raise their profits rates on the backs of workers and farmers, and strengthen their competitiveness against their rivals in the United States and other imperialist countries. This has opened space for the right-wing Reform Party, led by Preston Manning, who expresses the coarsening of bourgeois politics with his openly chauvinist attacks against the Quebecois.

On February 26, in an unprecedented display of anti-Quebecois chauvinism in the federal parliament, Bloc Quebecois Member of Parliament Suzanne Tremblay was prevented from speaking by an organized demonstration of Liberal and Reform Party MPs waving Canadian flags and singing the national anthem "O Canada" in English. Earlier, while attending the winter Olympics in Japan, Tremblay had criticized the massive display of Canadian flags and the sparse use of French in the official ceremonies of the Canadian delegation.

"It is unimaginable that the Canadian flag in whatever form, should be banned from the Commons, or that 'O Canada' should be stifled," screamed a *Toronto Star* editorial March 12. "If that offends separatist MPs, too bad....We'd rue the day when patriotic MPs were barred from showing their disdain for those who would wreck this country."

The Canadian flag was finally barred,
Continued on Page 14

Socialist Conferences < Chicago and Toronto

WELCOME BACK FROM CAIRO AND KOSOVO

Eyewitness to resistance in Kosovo and Albania

- ♦ The Dayton Accord Marches East: NATO Encirclement Tightens around Russia
- ♦ From Iraq to the Caspian Oil Fields and the Silk Road: NATO's Southern Front in Formation
- ♦ Youth in the Balkans Confront Imperialism

SPEAKER: **Argiris Malapanis**

staff writer for the 'Militant' newspaper; co-author of 'The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention'

Rebuilding an anti-imperialist youth movement worldwide

- ♦ International Response to U.S. Aggression against Iraq
- ♦ Building on the Momentum of the 1997 Havana International Youth Festival
- ♦ Report from Cairo Conference of the World Federation of Democratic Youth
- ♦ From Ireland to Puerto Rico, from Namibia to Cuba and the U.S.: A Vanguard of Anti-Imperialist Youth Are in Contact

SPEAKER: **Jack Willey**

organizer, National Executive Committee of the Young Socialists in the U.S.

CHICAGO, SAT., MARCH 28

Decima Musa
1901 South Loomis
[between Racine & Ashland in Pilsen]

- 11 a.m.-noon Registration and Reception
Meet the speakers and talk with participants
- 12-2:30 p.m. Eyewitness to Resistance in Kosovo and Albania
[discussion will be continued following the second talk]
- 3:00-6:00 p.m. Rebuilding an Anti-Imperialist Youth Movement Worldwide
- 6:00-7:30 p.m. Dinner (catered on site)

Sponsors:

Chicago Socialist Workers Party
Des Moines Socialist Workers Party
Chicago Young Socialists
Des Moines Young Socialists
Young Socialists National Committee

TORONTO, SAT., APRIL 11

Clarion Essex Park Hotel
300 Jarvis Street
[near Yonge and College subway]

- 9 a.m.-10 a.m. Registration
- 10 a.m.-12:15 Eyewitness to Resistance in Kosovo and Albania
- 12:15-1:30 p.m. Lunch
- 1:30-4:00 p.m. Rebuilding an Anti-Imperialist Youth Movement Worldwide
- [4:30 p.m. Second session of Communist League convention resumes]

Sponsors: Communist League in Canada
Young Socialists in Canada

Special appeal for 1998 Militant Fund
Jack Willey and Argiris Malapanis will be just back from a three-week reporting trip to Egypt and Balkans for the 'Militant.'



Top: Albanians from Kosovo rally for independence.
Bottom: Warplanes on U.S. aircraft carrier off coast of Iraq.

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT:

Chicago:
(773) 235-5888

Des Moines:
(515) 277-2121

Young Socialists National Committee:
(773) 772-0551

Montreal:
(514) 284-5547

Toronto:
(416) 588-8581

Vancouver:
(604) 873-2482

FRIDAY, APRIL 10—SUNDAY, APRIL 12 < FIFTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE IN CANADA
(Open to delegates and supporters)